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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

September 13, 2005

HQ 62-103863
#13 = 5/2/58
Subversion For Racial Unrest

MR ERNIE LAZAR
APARTMENT 6
577 SOUTH THORNHILL ROAD
PALM SPRINGS, CA 92264 7884

Subject: FILE 62 103863/NUMBER 13 THRU END OF FILE
Part 1 of 2

FOIPA No. 1006484- 000

Dear Mr. Lazar:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552		**Section 552a**
□(b)(1)	□(b)(7)(A)	□(d)(5)
□(b)(2)	□(b)(7)(B)	□(j)(2)
□(b)(3)_____	☒(b)(7)(C)	□(k)(1)
_____	□(b)(7)(D)	□(k)(2)
_____	□(b)(7)(E)	□(k)(3)
_____	□(b)(7)(F)	□(k)(4)
□(b)(4)	□(b)(8)	□(k)(5)
□(b)(5)	□(b)(9)	□(k)(6)
□(b)(6)		□(k)(7)

22

303 **page(s)** were reviewed and 303 **page(s)** are being released.

□ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

- □ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
- □ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Co-Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 570, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☒The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s).

If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,

David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosures (2)

Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 16.11 and 16.49, there is a fee of ten cents per page for duplication. No fees are assessed for the first 100 pages. Please submit your check or money order in the amount of $20.30 payable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To insure proper identification of your request, please return this letter or include FOIPA number 1006484 on your check or money order.



Federal Bureau of Investigation

Freedom of Information / Privacy Acts

Release

Subject: File # 62-103863

4-774 (1-24-80)

The following documents appearing in FBI files have been reviewed under the provisions of The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552); The Privacy Act of 1974 (PA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a); and/or Litigation.

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Requester: U.S. VS H.G.
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(THIS FORM IS TO BE MAINTAINED AS THE TOP SERIAL OF THE FILE, BUT NOT SERIALIZED.)

R. T. Wilson

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NEASE

DATE: 5-2-58

FROM : [redacted] b7C

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Nease
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON SEGREGATION STATE OF LOUISIANA, PUBLIC HEARINGS

The attached transcripts of hearings of the Joint Legislative Committee have been received from [redacted] The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend that this transcript be filed and all names and organizations listed therein be indexed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached transcripts be filed and indexed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-7-83 BY SP2 TAP/cs

O'CONNOR
DONAHUE
ROSEN
BOARD
BISHOP
WILLIAMS

356 Adm
6-2-58

Prepare index guide
6/10/58 orgn

2 copies made
for review at FBIHQ by
HSC - A Committee
Att: Beaulieu
Part I
Pages [redacted]
E-16
105-106 (172)

FFS:pl
(3)

Enclosures -

EC-19

62 103863-13

EX-108

20 JUN 2 1958

ENCLOSURE

59 JUN 19 1958

EX-108

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b7C

Subversion In Racial Unrest

AN OUTLINE OF A STRATEGIC WEAPON TO DESTROY THE GOVERNMENTS OF LOUISIANA AND THE UNITED STATES

PART I

PUBLIC HEARINGS

OF THE

STATE OF LOUISIANA

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

MARCH 6-9, 1957

62-103863-13

STATE OF LOUISIANA

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

SEN. W. M. RAINACH, CHAIRMAN

COMMITTEE ADDRESS:

P. O. BOX 450, HOMER, LOUISIANA

REP. E. W. GRAVOLET, JR.,
VICE-CHAIRMAN
POINT-A-LA-HACHE, LA.

REP. CARROLL L. DUPONT
HOUMA, LA.

SEN. LOUIS H. FOLSE
ARABI, LA.

REP. JOHN S. GARRETT
HAYNESVILLE, LA.

SEN. H. W. JONES
MINDEN, LA.

REP. FORD E. STINSON,
SECRETARY
BENTON, LA.

REP. L. D. NAPPER
RUSTON, LA.

SEN. B. R. PATTON
FARMERVILLE, LA.
(VICE SEN. A. L. STEWART)

SEN. ALVIN T. STUMPF
GRETNA, LA.

W. M. SHAW, GENERAL COUNSEL
HOMER, LA.

EXCERPTS

W. M. RAINACH: "In conducting these hearings we have an overriding objective . . . Nowhere in the entire world have the black and the white people over so many years lived in so much peace as in the south . . . we pray that here today will be the beginning of something that perhaps will not endure forever, but will preserve that peace and tranquillity that we should all have for generations to come."

W. GUY BANISTER: "The great danger from the Communist Party of the United States of America lies in the fact that its homeland is outside the borders of the United States . . . . It is in the field of subversion that the Soviets have been most successful . . . . Stalin ordered the setting up of this (disturbances in race relations) . . . he ordered it done over the protests of men like Benjamin Gitlow . . . We have documents supporting it."

JOSEPH Z. KORNFEDER: "I became a member of the Central Executive Committee, now known as the National Committee, of the Communist Party . . . I was put in charge of the Communist Party activities among the Negroes . . . the first one to be in charge . . . . I attended for three years — what is known as the Lenin School . . . . I knew Stalin personally . . . . The doctrine (of a separate Negro republic out of the south) originated with Joseph Stalin himself . . . . I have here the record of affiliation with — sponsorship association with — Communist fronts of a number of NAACP leaders . . . . racial incitation amongst the Negro has been so thorough and intense, conducted by the Communists through their propaganda, that you can direct the Negro vote much more effectively than, for instance, the labor vote . . . . The Communists produce the agitation and the NAACP produces the organization."

LEONARD PATTERSON: "Let me move on now, get back briefly to Gastonia, North Carolina. This gave the party the first roots in the southern states . . . . I became a member of the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party . . . . The party put us on the SS Majestic and sent us to Russia (to the Lenin School) . . . . The American Negro-Labor Congress was used to penetrate existing Negro organizations, like the U.N.I.A. (this was the Universal Negro Improvement Association), the Garvey Movement, NAACP, Urban League . . . . The Communist Party has been able to exercise its influence in Negro churches in the south, Negro churches in the north and throughout the United States."

BIOGRAPHIES

W. GUY BANISTER: A native Louisianian, W. Guy Banister began his career in police work in Monroe, Louisiana, leaving there in 1934 to report for duty with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, where he worked for over twenty years.

After attending training school of the FBI, he served first as Agent, later being promoted to Agent in Charge, a position which he held in several important cities of the United States until his retirement at the end of 1954.

Banister's work prior to and during World War II and in the Cold War following was largely devoted to combating subversion. In addition to many years of actual experience in the detailed, painstaking and hazardous work of detecting and forestalling subversive activities, he also devoted considerable study to Communist history, theory, strategy and tactics.

JOSEPH Z. KORNFEDER: A naturalized citizen of the United States, Joseph Z. Kornfeder helped found the Communist Party in this country in 1919. Advancing from one assignment to another, he was made a member of the Central Executive Committee (known at this time as the National Committee) of the Communist Party of the United States, a group which directed the activities of the party all over the United States, under orders from Moscow.

Perhaps Kornfeder's most important office was that of director of Negro activities. He was the first member of the party to direct specific programs aimed at bringing the Negroes of this country under Communist influence.

Kornfeder knew Joseph Stalin personally. As part of his training, he was sent to Moscow, Russia, where he studied for three years at the Lenin School, a university dedicated to the training of Communist leaders of various countries for activities including agitation, organization, infiltration, sabotage and revolution. There he consulted with Stalin on Stalin's original orders setting up the Negro Liberation (Black Republic) movement for the southern states of the United States.

LEONARD PATTERSON: A native of North Carolina, Leonard Patterson (a Negro) joined the Communist Party's Young Communist League in 1928 and worked his way upward to membership on the National Executive Committee, its highest governing body. After training in the United States and working in organizational and official capacities with the Communist Party itself, Patterson also was sent to Moscow for a course in the Lenin School.

He helped foment riots and strikes, particularly along labor and racial lines, at various places in the United States in his positions of leadership in the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

Patterson, too, became a leading figure in the party in Negro activities, culminating in his appointment to the important National Negro Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

PART I

HEARINGS

of

Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee

MARCH 7, 1957, COMMENCING AT 10:00 A. M., IN THE COURT OF APPEALS, 4TH FLOOR, LOUISIANA STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA.

SENATOR RAINACH: The meeting of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee will come to order and the Secretary will call the roll.

ROLL CALL BY SECRETARY, REPRESENTATIVE STINSON:

PRESENT: W. M. Shaw, General Counsel
Representative E. W. Gravolet, Jr.
Senator Louis H. Folse
Representative John S. Garrett
Senator H. W. Jones
Senator William M. Rainach
Representative Ford E. Stinson
Representative L. D. Napper

ABSENT: Senator A. L. Stewart
Representative Carroll L. Dupont
Senator Alvin T. Stumpf

REPRESENTATIVE STINSON: Seven members present and a quorum.

SENATOR RAINACH:

Gentlemen of the committee, we are gathered here today on a very serious occasion, and it would not be appropriate unless this meeting were opened with a statement as to the occasion for which this meeting has been called, the objectives of this meeting, and what we as a committee hope in the long run to accomplish. We are, in this state, in the beginning of what is perhaps the second most serious crisis that the State of Louisiana has undergone in its entire history. No matter how gifted a person might be in delivering words for this occasion, I don't think that any one person could speak what would be truly fitting. I know that I am not adequate to the occasion.

In the course of human events, people are recurrently going through two storms — one made by nature and the other made by man. One of the storms is unavoidable, and all we can do is adapt ourselves as best we can, but the other — the ones made by man are totally unnecessary.

In Louisiana we find ourselves drawing a deadly parallel today to

a previous storm that this state went through. We find ourselves in a position somewhat similar to that brief period in the late 1860s — the period immediately after the War Between the States, and before the Reconstruction — a period of relative lull and quiet. That period that our forefathers went through might most aptly be compared to the hurricane with which we are so familiar in Louisiana. The people of Louisiana had just passed through the windward side of the storm in the War Between the States, and had gone into the eye of the hurricane, the lull between the windward side of the storm and the leeward side of the storm, which was the Reconstruction. We hope that it may much better be compared to the quiet before a storm that has only the leeward side. We are in a different position, however, from our people who must go through the hurricanes of nature. This is a hurricane or storm that would be made by man, and it's completely avoidable.

We ask ourselves where our committee is in this problem. Our committee was created in 1954 shortly after the Supreme Court handed down its decision, outlawing an institution that has prevailed for hundreds of years in this section of the country. Our committee fought first to maintain the peace and tranquillity that exists between our races with such laws as we could devise; but in going into the problem, we found that the problem was much broader than we had first anticipated — that the institution we were fighting to preserve was not, in itself, the final goal of those who would destroy the institution, but that institution and its destruction were means to an end. We reviewed the period before the War Between the States, and we found that that war was brought about largely by economic reasons, and by well-meaning people who did not visualize its consequences. We saw that the abolition of slavery was something that certainly could have been settled in peace between the states of the south and north, and would have been settled in peace, had not other factors entered into the problem. The causes of our problem then largely originated within the borders of the United States, however, and as we delved into this problem, we sensed that our problem today perhaps was caused by a force over which the people within the United States, and the United States Government itself, had no control.

To bring ourselves back to our own state, however, our committee had to function within the responsibilities assigned to it by the State of Louisiana. We must first attack the problems that this force would bring about within our own state in an attempt to solve them here, knowing full well that the solution that we might find in this state might also provide an answer for the problems of other states. Our two principal objectives in conducting these hearings would be first to ascertain the influences or the causes that are attempting to bring about, that are paving the way for a serious destruction of the peace and tranquillity that normally exist between the races in this state. Our second objective would be to use the findings of these hearings as measuring sticks to determine the adequacy of the laws that we have on our books and their enforcement, and if we find those laws inadequate, to draft other legislation that might be needed.

In conducting these hearings we have an over-riding objective that is much greater than either of these two objectives, that has a much higher moral purpose. In Louisiana, out of a population of better than two and a half million, we have 880,000 colored people. In the twelve southern states there are 9,250,000 colored people. In the forty-eight states of this nation, there are over 15 million colored people. The twelve states of the south — one-fourth of the nation — have 66 percent of the Negro population in these United States. The other three-fourths have only one-third of the entire Negro population. If there is trouble, the south and Louisiana will bear the greatest portion of the burden. But the burden won't be the south's alone, because the interstate migration of the population in this country over the last twenty or thirty years has distributed this burden to the rest of the nation. So, in conducting these hearings, we are fighting for an over-riding purpose. Nowhere in the entire world have the white and black people over so many years lived in so much peace as they have in the south. The Negroes of the south are the leaders of their race in the entire world. And the peace that has existed between our races is something precious. It is something we must preserve, because the peace that exists between our races is more than just a working relationship in this country. In many cases, it goes into a deep affection that all of you who have lived in this state have known and enjoyed.

So, we are trying to develop something to avoid a man-made storm in these hearings. We are trying to preserve the normal peace and tranquillity between our people. We know that no man, no group of men, no country, can do anything that of their own action will endure forever. But, we believe, we hope, and we pray that here today will be the beginning of something that perhaps will not endure forever, but will preserve that peace and tranquillity that we should all have for generations to come. The General Counsel of this committee has subpoenaed some witnesses. The General Counsel will conduct the questioning of these witnesses. Upon conclusion of his questions, such questions as the members of the committee may desire to ask will be presented to the witnesses. At this time the General Counsel will summon and introduce his first witness. He will be sworn in by the stenographer, and we will proceed with the questions.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to call W. Guy Banister to the stand, please.

THE WITNESS, W. GUY BANISTER, HAVING FIRST BEEN DULY SWORN, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Would you please state your name and residence for the record?
A. W. Guy Banister, 8161 Canal Boulevard, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Q. Mr. Banister, what is your occupation?
A. Assistant Superintendent of Police, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Q. Would you please outline for the committee your professional training, background and experience in police work and related activities?
A. I joined the Monroe, Louisiana, Police Department on December 2,

1929. I served there as patrolman, as investigator, as secretary to the Superintendent, until November 2, 1934. I left Monroe at that time, and reported for duty with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I went to training school, and I was sent to my first office in Indianapolis, Indiana, as an Agent. I served there until April, 1935, when I was transferred to New York City. I was assigned to New York City, however, worked over the northern part of the country on special assignment for about—approximately three years. Then I was promoted to the position of Assistant Special Agent in Charge of a Division, and transferred to Newark, New Jersey. I remained there from May until August, 1938, and I was promoted to the position of Special Agent in Charge, and given my first office of command, which was at Butte, Montana, the headquarters for the Montana-Idaho FBI Division. I stayed there until October, 1941, when I was transferred to Oklahoma City as Special Agent in Charge. I remained there until November, 1943, when I returned to Butte, Montana, and remained there until September, 1951, when I was transferred to Minneapolis, Minnesota, headquarters for Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and remained there until the end of January, 1954, when I was transferred to the Chicago Division as Special Agent in Charge. I remained there until the end of the year, when I retired from the service of the FBI. In January, 1955, at the invitation of the Mayor of New Orleans, I accepted a position with the New Orleans Police Department, and I have been there since that date.

Q. Your present position is Assistant to the Superintendent of Police. Is that correct?

A. That is right.

Q. In connection with your long experience with the Federal Bureau, did you have any special experience or training in connection with subversive work in the United States?

A. Beginning in New York City, the man having a desk next to mine was Special Agent George Starr. George Starr, who spoke Russian fluently—his father was a trainer of race horses for the Czar at one time in Russia—was actually the leader in conducting subversive activity investigation for the FBI, for several years. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director, never lost sight of the danger of Communism in this country, and while he had few men and little money with which to work, at least he kept abreast as best he could of the current situation. George Starr familiarized me with the problems of Communist Party work and, in fact, he has been given credit for teaching the agents of the FBI how to conduct these investigations. After I was promoted to the position of Special Agent in Charge, it was, of course, my duty to supervise the work of the special agents assigned to such an activity. It was also my duty to develop and supervise those people commonly called informers. To be more specific, we might say that they were the counterspies sent in to report on the activities of the party members. That was part of my duty throughout the nearly seventeen years I served as Special Agent in Charge.

Q. And you have been actively engaged in anti-subversive work for more than seventeen years for the FBI. Is that right?

A. That is right, sir.

Q. Mr. Banister, I would like to ask you this: What were the factors that influenced you to accept this position — with the New Orleans Police Department—which was offered to you, and to which you were invited?

A. I accepted the position at the invitation of the Mayor, who said that the New Orleans Police Department had many of its members charged with being grafters. He wanted it cleaned up, and he wanted the department trained. I talked to some of my friends who are professional law enforcement officers, outstanding men in that field in the nation, and they said it couldn't be done. The New Orleans Police Department was controlled by a Mafia-like organization, and it simply could not be cleaned. I said, "Well, if you say it cannot be done, I accept the challenge." I had retired, intending to get out of law enforcement, although I must say I regretted getting out of counter-espionage, counter-sabotage, counter-subversive activity work. It is a fascinating field. One thing that influenced me, of course, was in all the years I had been working in this, it seemed to me that my homeland, my state, Louisiana, and the south generally, seemed to be rather asleep. I knew that industry was moving south, and that there would have to be a movement south of strong Communist Party activity. I knew, of course, there would have to be infiltration of labor organizations. The Soviet leaders say that labor is the key that they can use to unlock any country, but they admit that the strong resistance given by American labor leaders has made their job extremely hard in the south.

I might mention in passing that I made a speech in which I mentioned that we had to be on guard here against infiltration of labor unions by—and other units of our society—by the Communist Party, and we also had to be on guard against racketeers, and I had the AF of L and the CIO both on my neck. Since that statement was made, Steve Nelson, from the waterfront in New Orleans, has been convicted of perjury in filing his non-Communist affidavit. We have the Hunter Pitts O'Dell documents tracing out the infiltration into many parts of our society—segments of our society. We have, of course, International Longshoremen's Union—their testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee the other day showing the control and infiltration in that group or that union. That, of course, influenced me. I found it interesting. We have been doing some work in that connection in the New Orleans Police Department since that time.

Q. Would you briefly tell the committee what work has been done in New Orleans since you have been there—in connection with subversive activity in and around New Orleans?

A. We created in the New Orleans Police Department the Division of Intelligence Affairs. Sergeant Hubert Badeaux is Agent in Charge. He is in charge of the unit. We have not been able to get men, proper personnel, or money with which to work. But we have been successful, beginning with the hearing of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In searching for one of the people under sub-

poena, we came across the documents of Hunter Pitts O'Dell, the District Director of Louisiana.

Q. District Director of what?

A. Of the Louisiana District for the Communist Party. That, of course, has led us into many fields. Since then, we have had other help. The House Un-American Activities Committee revealed — by working with them we obtained much valuable information.

Q. Mr. Banister, I would like to ask if you have prepared, at the request of this committee, an outline of the dangers to this state, and to our nation from subversion and Communist influences?

A. Yes, sir. I have.

Q. Would you please give the committee the benefit of your work in that connection?

A. The great danger from the Communist Party of the United States of America lies in the fact that its homeland is outside the borders of the United States. Definitions are restrictive and sometimes damage can be done by defining a subject. One definition, one with which you can work, and there is only one definition of this complex problem, is that Communism is a philosophy of materialism, having the force and effect of a religion. The Holy See for Communism is Moscow. The Russians say that Moscow is the third Rome, and there shall not be a fourth. If the Communist Party of the United States of America was not backed by this great empire—the empire of Russia, and it's an empire, in spite of the fact that it is called the Union of Soviet Republics. We know Russia, not only from reading intelligence and counter-intelligence reports, which I would like to avoid remembering as much as possible. We know it from books written by her own people, and other people who have been there. We know the nature of the land and the people of that land. Russia is the Chaldea, "that bitter and hasty nation" of our time. She is a nation at war all the time, and for all times. The modern phase of Russia, commonly associated with Peter the Great, really began in the late 15th century. Then there intervened two and a half centuries of Mongol yoke. From her ancient past, Russia seems to have inherited a state of mind and an institution, the conviction that they are chosen to inherit the earth, and are hence always in the right, and the structure of the totalitarian state.

The totalitarian state is defined by the historian Arnold Toynbee as one that has established its control over every side of the life of its subjects. Peter the Great imposed a totalitarian system on Russia. Nickolai Lenin called Peter the first Bolshevik, and named himself as Peter's disciple. "Asia Stomped the Earth and Out of It Came the Kremlin." This is a chapter heading from the Journals of the Marquis De Custine published in 1843. Remember that this goes back so far that any feeling of loyalty and so forth to the present existing system in Russia has no effect. This is prior to the growth and development of Communism.

This is another chapter heading which is of interest to us today—"God Makes Only the Future. The Czar Makes the Past." We find them constantly engaged in rewriting history in Russia. And the laughter of Stephen Hatory is still heard in the land.

Another chapter heading, "A Permanent Conspiracy of Smiles." We find that in our relationship with them quite frequently abroad.

De Custine foresaw many of the fearful events that have occurred in our times. Russia's intentions to make war are well known. They are revealed by these books written by people. We know of it whether we learn of it through the curses of a Dr. Graves, or the quiet and burning anger of Baron Huraki. We know of it. We might as well read again the stories and poems of Kipling, particularly The Story of the Man Who Was, because it is happening today.

The nature of the people in the government over there has not changed. It is still bent upon world domination—world conflict. The expansion of Russia, unlike that of most great empires, has never been erratic, nor dependent upon fortuitous circumstances. It has been accordingly always considered as the ruthless exemplification of a predetermined plan. The expansion program was decided upon in the 17th Century. Definite steps were taken in the 18th Century to put the plan into effect. Five lines were decided upon: (1) In the northwest to force Sweden from the Baltic littoral. The wave is washed backward, but Russia has come again. The wave has come into the shore in the Baltic littoral today. It is controlled by Russia. (2) The second line was in the west to gain Little and White Russia from Poland. (3) In the south to gain the Black Sea, to create unrest in Turkey, preparatory to invasion. (4) In the southeast to secure the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus Region. I might mention in passing that she fought 63 years with the highlanders of the Georgian area, Stalin's home territory—home country. After the fall of the Russian Empire at the end of World War I, a free republic was created there. Bolsheviks moved in and conquered it again. (5) The fifth line was in the east—to move towards the Pacific and India.

I had better mention in passing that India is an important area to any sea power. Any person holding or dominating India has a dominating voice in world affairs. Had it not been for the advent of air power, Britian may have had to have conquered India again, if she hoped to maintain her standing.

Three of these labors were accomplished during the 18th Century. They fought 21 years to reach the Baltic. They fought three wars with Poland to gain Little and White Russia. They fought four wars with Turkey to reach the Black Sea. They were stopped until today.

What Russia was not able to accomplish in two hundred years of war and diplomacy, she has accomplished now through subversion. She has by-passed Turkey, and entered the Middle East. She continued to fight and expand during the 19th Century. The conclusion was reached by many that the plan to reach the Pacific and India had been put aside forever. This is not so. The movement was going on without noise, imperceptibly and glacier-like. You can read the daily newspapers and discover the advance made in our time.

We might read again the will and testament of Peter the Great, and remember Lenin's remark. Peter did not consider that the United States of America would ever amount to anything. It was in a wilderness area, and he made no plans regarding that. And we are the last hope of the free world. A copy of the will was smuggled out of Russia

in the 18th Century by the French spy D'Eon de Beaumont. Its authenticity has not been proved by examining the original, but it has been proved by the manner in which it has been carried out, and it is extremely interesting to read today in the light of our present problem.

Russia has always exploited to the fullest every advantage she could secure from espionage and subversion. Espionage is the second oldest governmental activity of man. The first is law enforcement. You may adopt as a premise the dialectic of any of our historians as to the creation of the proto-social mechanism, but immediately upon its coming into being, two problems were presented—the maintenance of internal order or law enforcement, and the protection from the outside groups, which is espionage. The oldest military treatise we have was published about 500 B.C. by Sun Tzu. We scream if espionage is used against us for two reasons. We are not trained to think in that manner and we have been sold on the idea that it is dirty business. Espionage is moral and right if war is ever moral and right. Besides, the use of spies is approved by Jehovah, and I don't see how we can well object. The woman, Rahab, Joshua's "cut-out agent" in Jericho, lived in a house on the wall. That portion of the wall did not fall when the walls came tumbling down. Russia has made espionage, which is the war between the wars, into a fine art. Lenin said one day that every Bolshevik should make himself a chekist. In other words, every Communist should be a spy. They believe in it. They are guided in their actions by it. They even have fought during World War II many of their campaigns according to the directions given them by their espionage agents. I might refer to the individual known as Lucy, a high ranking officer in the Swiss Army, who was recently identified—last year, I believe it was—and was sentenced to a short term in the penitentiary.

Russia spent 20 years building a cover for Richard Sorge and placed him in Japan. It paid wonderful dividends to her in World War II. We were Russia's allies at the time, but the information obtained did us no good, because we never received it. The case we have been reading about in the paper—the arrest of the people in New York City—happens to be a case to my personal knowledge. It's been the subject of many years' work of the FBI.

These matters are not handled as an ordinary criminal case is handled. It requires a lot of time, and a lot of effort. Communists within the party are expected to spy on one another, and to report to higher authorities any serious deviation from the established party line, or any breach of Communist loyalty to the revolutionary goal. When the Communist Party seizes control of a nation, it directs its espionage system against all who oppose Communism. Freedom of the opposition ceases. In this sense it becomes a police state. Opponents of Communism are tagged with various labels such as spies, assassins, and wreckers, who must be destroyed. On becoming securely established in a given nation, Communists, in addition to their other functions, direct their espionage system against foreign nations as a part of their effort to overthrow all non-Communist social orders, so that a world-wide Communist Society can be erected. I quote from

Joseph Stalin in his work on Leninism: "The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remains. Consequently, the Red Army and the Navy also fully remain, as did the punitive organs, and the Intelligence Service, which are indispensable for the direction and punishment of the spies, assassins, and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage service."

I quote again from Stalin in his work on FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM IN THE SOVIET UNION: "As for our Army, punitive organs, and Intelligence Service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country, but to the outside, against external enemies."

Yes, Russia is at war with us. It is war whether her troops are fighting or not. For it is war if she counterfeits our currency. This act was revealed by General Walter G. Krivitsky, European Chief of the Russian Espionage Service who fled to this country. The first Five Year Plan extended from 1928 to 1932. Heavy purchases of machinery and material necessary to industrialize Russia drained her of foreign exchange. To make up the shortage, General Krivitsky estimates that Stalin put into circulation throughout the world about ten million dollars of bogus American money.

It is war when the 350 million dollars in German bonds, looted by the Russians from the vaults of banking institutions when Berlin fell in 1945, began to appear in this country for validation.

It is preparation for war to accuse us of using germ warfare in North Korea. The Soviet has so many subversive dupes at her beck and call that many are convinced that we did use germs. She has prepared many people to believe her claim, and notice, she has prepared long in advance for a claim that, in the next war, we will have used germ warfare against her and she had to retaliate in self-defense. From concealed Communist Party members, and from those who are not necessarily members but who have been sympathetic toward Communism, come agents not only to spy, but to sabotage. We are vulnerable to sabotage by the use of germs. A few — five or six — highly trained men can knock out a great city like New Orleans. Germs they might use would not necessarily be directed against man, but against plant and animal life. We can be starved into submission. We can retaliate, and that is one of the reasons the Soviets have for objection to the flight of the Freedom Balloons. They object, of course, because of the effect of the propaganda leaflets sent up with the balloons. But they also know that with them we can trace air currents across the most productive parts of their lands. Some queer things have happened over here, and I am sure that no one is positive but that test runs have been made.

We are particularly vulnerable to smuggled atom bombs. Even the big bombs were comparatively simple to assemble, once they were made. Now they have them down to artillery shell size, and it's even better. Dedicated Communist Party members can smuggle them in, leave them. I doubt that we have enough screw drivers and men to use them to find them. They can be triggered, they can be set off by a radio wave, or in several other manners. I know that it is possible and comparatively easy to assemble one of them, and New Orleans

is a key city in the southland. Not only is it the second largest port in the nation—it boasts of that fact—but if we begin to starve here, we will need shipping to bring in food and materiel for war.

We may not be hit that way. We may not even be hit by planes, although they can come. They can reach New Orleans. We are closer in New Orleans, in point of time, to Siberia, where the great air fields are located, than are cities like Chicago and Detroit, and some of the others which we in this country normally think of as targets in the event of war.

Q. Would you explain what you mean by being closer in point of time?

A. Yes, sir. Do you remember the Japanese balloon cases that occurred in World War II? Balloons being sent over from Japan? We found the first one on land in Montana, and I had the job of finding out where it came from. It came through the air, although a leading balloonist in this country said no balloon could fly such a distance. But military geology—that branch of military services which we have—in time began to chart the exact strata in Japan they came from, because they had sand bags on them, you remember. And we found out the reason why. The winds carrying these balloons originated in Siberia. We call them now the jet air streams. They can ride one out eastward toward us. Off the coast they strike one going much faster, almost twice as fast, turning south. They can ride that until they cross another going eastward at about 350 miles per hour. It quite frequently passes over New Orleans, and they can ride it down. They can be here quicker than they can get to Chicago.

Q. Actually, it is easier to get from Siberia to New Orleans, than it is to get from Siberia to Chicago. Is that right? From an airplane standpoint?

A. From an airplane standpoint, the ride goes down, as they say it can be done. Of course, we have now guided missiles aboard submarines, so we would probably be attacked from that angle. But the spy and the saboteur will pick the targets for even the guided missiles.

It is in the field of subversion that the Soviets have been most successful. It seem to me that she has more of the best trained psychological warfare people than any other nation. They are trained in the Lenin Institute, and they are thoroughly trained. Subversion is a form of brainwashing. You hear the word used quite frequently, which means simply, opinion forming, behavior manipulation, and attitude changing. There are so many people, young people particularly, who are looking for positive answers that the Soviet experts have had great success throughout the world. Positive answers appeal to many people. They give them a feeling of security. Remember that the true name for Communism is Scientific Socialist Marxism. The laws are scientific. They are not disobeyed within Leninism.

The only man, in my opinion, who ever met the cohorts of Stalin on all fields—espionage, sabotage, propaganda, and all others — and whipped him was Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. Chiang's government fell when he failed to receive assistance from those who had promised and were expected to give it.

Every member of the Louisiana Communist Party, a component part of the Communist Party of the United States of America, is a Soviet agent. The Communist Party of the United States of Ameri-

ca is an agency of the Soviet Government. The reported changes in the Communist Party of the United States of America mean nothing. It is simply now engaged in putting on a clean shirt. The Communist Party is inflexible in basic ideas, and flexible in method. This pattern of operation relentlessly applied by the world-wide Communist movement is at once transparent and opaque. It is transparent in its ultimate objective of systematic world domination. It is opaque in its conspiracy of organized force and violence as the final means of reaching the objective.

Governed as these people are by Communist philosophy, it might be well if we explained the basic idea—the idea, the mental pattern from which action flows. 1) Nature is all. There is no God. In fact, Lenin said — I believe I quote him exactly — "Communism begins with Atheism." Mind is not primary, it is secondary. There is only one reality. Eternal matter. 2) Body is all. There is no soul. You are no different from a worm or dog, except for the direction the atoms composing your body travel. 3) All religions are false and harmful. All religions must be destroyed, therefore. 4) Proletarian utility constitutes the moral code. All existing moral codes derived from supernatural conceptions are false. 5) History is a materialistic process. It is a history of class struggle. It does not reflect the spirit of man. Gifted men do not make history, Plutarch and Carlisle to the contrary notwithstanding, history makes man, gifted or otherwise. The only correct interpretation of history is the materialistic interpretation. The primary basis for this interpretation is to be found in economics. History originates, is controlled and directed by the immutable laws of economic determinism. 6) The Capitalist State is an instrument of oppression. It must be destroyed. 7) Revolution and revolutionary methods are necessary, and the Communist Party describes itself as the vanguard of the revolution. The rulers of nations will not surrender peacefully. 8) Only a world-wide Communist social order conforms to the nature of man. It meets the need of life. It is adequate. Therefore, only this type of social order should be permitted to exist. All other social orders do not conform to the nature of man, do not meet the needs of life, and are inadequate. Therefore, all other social orders must be destroyed.

You will notice they never say change or make adaptable. They say "destroy," get rid of it, which is, shall we say, a fighting idea.

I have deliberately remained silent for the two years I've been out of the FBI. I wanted to be sure to forget some of our nation's secrets. I found in that time that few in Louisiana were alert to the dangers of Communist infiltration. A Communist is dangerous to this state and this nation, whether he is located in New Orleans or in Buras, because again, I charge him with being an agent of the Soviet. Any light this committee is able to throw upon the existing situation of Communist infiltraton and manipulation of any segment—the labor segment, the educational segment, the religious segment, a racial segment, a professional segment—of the people of this state will be of inestimable value in alerting our people to the great danger confronting them.

I mention that Sgt. Hubert Badeaux and I — I understand he will

be a witness here—are the two men, so far as I know, who are the only two officers, state or municipal, engaged in combating the Communist Party in this state.

History has not given us the name of any nation which has fallen from wholly outside influences. There has always been rottenness and decay from within as a contributing factor. That is why Mr. J. Edgar Hoover can say that the two great dangers to this country are Communism and corruption—the kind of corruption that follows entrenched crime, enjoying an unholy alliance with those in public office—crime and criminals protected by those very forces who have a sworn duty to exterminate them. The criminal can control the government. Corruption breeds discontent. It creates a cynical attitude on the part of the people. It destroys the faith of the people in their government, and in the officials of the government, and the substances of existence of that cynical attitude are present. Corruption results in mistreatment of all the people except the privileged few. It is a well-established principle that he who steals virtue from the public exchequer is more of a traitor to his country than is he who steals its gold.

Communism exploits every complaint of the people made against the government or governing officials — not for the purpose of securing relief for the people, but as a move to power, which they plan to seize as the government falls. They know that, once in power, they can correct these corrupting influences by simply liquidating the persons involved, including their family and friends.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit to this committee, in conclusion, two recommendations: I recommend that this committee give serious consideration to the problem of amending the law so that the statute of limitations does not so quickly bar prosecution. We do not seem any longer to be a nation governed by law, but a nation governed by queer interpretation made of psychological and psychiatric data by non-scientists. There will come a time when this will change, and then there will be those who will be required to pay for the damage done to the governmental system we have worked so long to establish. Investigators of subversive activities presented by Communist infiltration and manipulation tactics need the advice and assistance of the District Attorney. We cannot ask for it. Once he is officially informed, in one year's time, we cannot act. Any such investigation requires an enormous amount of time and effort to reveal its workings. An investigator must do many things — he must go into many places he would not ordinarily go — even into the French Quarter of New Orleans after dark. He must read enormously. He must piece together the many things, called, of course, in our detective story literature "clues" — the little things that add up. Besides, an extension of time would be most helpful in police graft cases.

My second recommendation is this: That this committee give serious consideration to suggesting the advisability of amending the law to free the Grand Jury from the effect of the infamous Platt Decision and related decisions of our Courts. The Grand Jury should be given the right to revolt, the right to run away, the right to submit a report on any matter it cares to consider — openly report on it. A

District Attorney is the most powerful individual in any parish or district. If he is corrupt, or if he is a concealed member of the Communist Party, or ideologically inclined, or a professional dupe, or a false liberal, whatever classification you wish to put him in, he can block every effort to bring Communists to trial. And remember, corruption and Communism are the dangers. The District Attorney can do this easily by an inadequate and ineffective method of presentation of evidence and testimony. He can confuse the Grand Jury members. It is hardly possible to have a Grand Jury composed of, shall we say, intelligence and counter-intelligence agents gathered from all over the state who are expert in this field, or those who have a great deal of knowledge of it — about it. He can confuse them, and then he can give them the legal advice that there is insufficient evidence to convict and a case has not been made. Then he can slam down the lid of Grand Jury secrecy and we are helpless. After all, the Grand Jury more nearly represents "We the people," and the law rests finally with us — or did the last time I read the newspapers! I don't know what the new decisions are. But they more nearly represent the people than does the District Attorney, or any Judge. For each power held by anyone, there should be an offsetting power and responsibility. That is the principle of American government. We should not take any chances today. We should act now, before it is too late.

Q. Mr. Banister, you spoke in your testimony, an outline that you gave on the possibility of test runs having been made on the use of diseases in warfare. Would you mind elaborating a little more and giving some instances in connection with that?

A. I recall one outbreak of "hoof and mouth disease" which occurred in dairy herds in Canada. Legally, it was not possible to establish that it was done — planted there. But an intelligence officer is never quite satisfied with a legal definition. And I have talked to many men. You can't be certain. We can't be certain that the man who was supposed to have taken it there was the one who actually did. Someone else could have put it there. We have the example of the "wheat stem rust" which hit Durham wheat in Eastern Montana and Western Dakota — the kind of wheat where we get our macaroni. That was an upflare. In that (case) I talked to the nation's leading plant pathologists in that field. We don't know where those spores came from. They trapped them at 15,000 feet in the air. Maybe it's a test run. We don't know. Maybe it's natural. But we must be suspicious now. We can't afford to pass it off as natural, as an example.

Q. In giving your experience in connection with this type of work, you said that you had been located in Butte, Montana for a good many years. Would you explain to the committee the relationship at that time the interior area had to this problem we are discussing?

A. That is a tremendously important area. There was for many, many years a strong Communist Party in that area. You have the Local No. 1 of the International Mine, Mill and Smelters Union there. Many of the officials have been charged at this time, I believe, for non-Communist affidavits and so forth. We know that they had some

Communist Party members in it. You have Great Falls, Montana — during the war a most interesting place. From that great airfield went the planes we sent to Russia. The Russian pilots sent them out. A Sgt. Mikhailovich was the then, as it was called, NKVD Agent there. We always suspected him of giving the Colonel commanding the place most of the orders. We know he met the planes, and no one could talk. We never picked up a scrap of conversation. Major Gordon wrote a book about it. I know the story, but he wrote the book.

Q. You were in charge of that area as Special Agent in Charge of the FBI?

A. That is right.

Q. During the time that this airfield was located at Great Falls?

A. That is right.

Q. I wish you would elaborate a little more and explain to the committee the significance of New Orleans in connection with this problem of subversion in the United States and also, of course, in our own state.

A. We are — we know that New Orleans has had a large and active Communist element in the past. It is not nearly so large now, of course. Again I point out the fact that it is the second largest seaport in the nation. It supplies manufactured material and other material, of course, to South America, and it brings raw material back. It is a key area for those reasons, and any effort to control, for example, the International Longshoremen's Union—an official of that union appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee recently, and refused to talk. He was identified as a member of the Communist Party. They can tie up shipping and, of course, that has always been one of the key industries the Russian government has picked to infiltrate —communications and transportation. Russia was paralyzed when the Bolsheviks took over there, and the system they set up succeeded in paralyzing Russia through what they call invisible maneuvering. Key men were sent into factories, telephone exchanges, and other places, railroad stations — and they paralyzed the country, followed by a general strike and they were able to take power. Great problems are presented in any effort to do that here, because of the complexity of our system.

Q. Mr. Banister, I take it from your testimony that you feel that there is a grave and serious present danger of Communist and Communistic influences in the New Orleans area. Is that correct?

A. I do sir. And it extends out of New Orleans too, sir. It is in the state.

Q. Throughout the state?

A. It's here and there in the state.

Q. I would like to ask you if you do not feel that the State of Louisiana and New Orleans in particular should take some effective steps, more effective steps than have been taken, to prepare to combat this particular menace we are facing?

A. I certainly do, sir. And in saying that, may I explain that such activity as would be taken is not in competition with the FBI—Federal Bureau of Investigation. They are the coordinating agency for the entire nation, and we would supplement their efforts, but where they have to, shall we say, walk cautiously so as not to upset some national plan, we can be more like — well, more like policemen.

Q. In other words, you feel like this type of activity would neither hamper nor in any way interfere with the work that the FBI is doing from an overall standpoint?

A. No, sir. It would not interfere.

Q. You think it would be helpful?

A. I believe it would be, sir.

Q. The committee would like to know specifically the objections that you were making to the restrictions placed on Grand Jury activity by the Platt Decision.

A. That decision, of course, stopped the Grand Jury from making an adverse report. As I understand it — it is my appreciation of the decision.

Q. First, that's a state decision, isn't it?

A. That's a state decision. It is out of Judge Platt's Court — District Court in New Orleans. I think the Grand Jury should make a report on any matter, because it is the voice and mind of "We the people." It is a grand institution.

Q. In other words, you think that whatever laws have been construed to limit the Grand Jury in that respect should be revised in order to give them more leeway for them to make a report without being, as you might say, directed and controlled by the effectiveness of that particular decision?

A. I would, sir. I highly recommend that.

BY SENATOR RAINACH:

We have a question from the committee. Mr. Banister, in view of your experience in the City of New Orleans in this work, would you say that your funds and men allocated to you by the City of New Orleans are adequate to do your job?

A. Not to do the job that needs to be done. They are not adequate.

Q. What priority would you think that the City of New Orleans should give to combating subversion?

A. In the Division of Intelligence Affairs that is set up, we, of course, have the duties of investigating racketeering. And that, too, is becoming a tremendous problem; that, too, creates the kind of discontent on which Communism feeds. I think it should be one of the top agencies of the department. Modern police departments throughout the nation are establishing intelligence units. It's beyond the scope of the ordinary detective.

Q. In other words, you think that the Communist menace is such that top priority should be given to it?

A. I do, sir.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Mr. Banister, can you separate the problems of racketeering, corruption and Communism in that type of investigation? Can they be separated?

A. Well, it would be extremely hard to do because—

Q. They are interrelated, aren't they?

A. They are interrelated. They are tied together because the same — there are people in the same organizations, and same outfits, and same — like work, like ideas.

Q. From that particular standpoint, adequate funds and personnel should

be made available to take care of all three of those principal dangers, don't you think?

A. It should be.

BY SENATOR RAINACH:

Q. Mr. Banister, in view of your over seventeen years with the FBI in assignments combating Communism, would you say that what you have learned convinces you that the Communists are attempting to use disturbances in racial relations through ideological and organizational penetration as a means to achieve their objectives in this country?

A. We know they have, sir. They have clear and specific directives from them in that regard.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. How would you rate the importance of the race problem in this particular field — I believe you said that the most effective key was through the labor unions, did you not — for the Communists to unlock any country. How would you then rate with respect to effectiveness— the race problem in that regard?

A. It is tremendously important, and it is one of the, shall we say, peculiarities of this country. Stalin ordered the setting up of this. I assume that you will have witnesses to testify to this. Back at the beginning of his leadership of the Russian party, he ordered it done over the protests of men like Benjamin Gitlow — and others who said it wouldn't work here — to create friction between the races. It has been that for many years. We have documents supporting it.

Q. That is one of their long-term tactical objectives?

A. Yes, sir. What we lose sight of, sir, it seems to me is that in typical American fashion, and I'm not critical — it's a wonderful thing in a way, that we say, "Well, we'll take care of this now," but the Russians are perfectly content to go on for fifty or one hundred years — two hundred years, for example, trying to get into the Middle East. They made it.

BY REPRESENTATIVE NAPPER:

Q. Mr. Banister, you stated that perhaps your department was not sufficiently maintained by personnel and/or finances for this work. To what extent, if any, have you had the cooperation of the FBI in this matter?

A. The FBI is the coordinating agency. We make information available to them. We can only get back such material as they assign to us to run out for them. Now, that is a plan which has developed through the years. It works very well. They recognize exactly where a local or municipal law enforcement agency stands. Basically, you see, the police officer is the basic ingredient in our counter espionage system. He has authority there, too. Obviously, we would clear our work with them, rather than them clear with us, because we would not want to arrest one of their informants they had worked so many years to plant. For example, one of their counter-agents. We work with them rather than them work with us. It is perfectly all right. We can make our way, sir. I was on the other end for a long time, and we made our way, so we can get on this end and make it too.

MR. SHAW: That concludes the examination of Mr. Banister and we would like — I would like on behalf of the committee, to express our sincere appreciation for your appearing before this committee and giving us this enlightenment and background of the problem that we know we are facing here in the State of Louisiana.

A. Thank you, sir.

— WITNESS EXCUSED —

SENATOR RAINACH: The General Counsel at this time will call before the committee the next witness.

BY MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Joseph Kornfeder.

THE WITNESS, JOSEPH KORNFEDER, HAVING FIRST BEEN DULY SWORN TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH SO HELP HIM GOD, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

Former C.P. Member

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, would you please state your name and place of residence for the record?

Testimony

A. My name is Joheph Z. Kornfeder. I live in Detroit, Michigan. La.

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, are you a citizen of the United States? Ohio

A. I am.

N.Y U.S.S.R.

Q. Born or naturalized?

A. Naturalized.

Q. Where were you born, Mr. Kornfeder? B. APPROX. 1897 Colombia

A. I was born in Slovakia, at the present time part of Czechoslovakia. Venz.

Q. How old are you at this time, Mr. Kornfeder? Joint Legislative

A. I am sixty years. Committee on Segregation, State of La.

Q. What is your trade or profession that you follow for your livelihood, Mr. Kornfeder? March 7, 1957 Baton Rouge, La.

A. For the last ten years—I have been occupied in writing and speaking against Communism. I have been a lecturer and a writer.

Q. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. When and where did you join the Communist Party, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. I joined the Communist Party in New York City—at the time of its formation in 1919.

Q. You were one of the original founders of the Communist Party in the United States?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What political or — this type of connection — what type of connection did you have with any other similar organization before you helped to organize the Communist Party in the United States?

A. I was before that a member of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Q. To go back, when did you arrive in the United States? When did you come to this country, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. I came to this country in 1917.

Q. In 1917. When did you join the Socialist Party in this country?

A. Shortly upon my arrival.

Q. When did you help to organize the Communist Party of the United States? What year?

A. In 1919.

Q. About two years after you arrived then?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. What particular trade were you following as a working man?
A. I was a tailor. A member of the union.
Q. In New York?
A. In New York City, yes.
Q. While a member of the Communist Party, what, if any, offices did you hold in that organization?
A. Well, I started in 1919 shortly upon the formation of the Communist Party as a unit organizer. A unit would be something like a branch, or a club. Except in this case, the party being the conspirative type of organization, it was limited to ten members. After being a unit organizer for a number of months, I became a section organizer. A section in this case would include, I would say, a part of New York, like Harlem, or downtown, or part of Brooklyn. A section would include, of course, many Communist Party units. Then I became a member of the District Committee of the Communist Party, a small committee of seven men which controlled all Communist activities in New York State, Connecticut, and the upper part of New Jersey. After that, I became a member of the Central Executive Committee, now known as the National Committee, of the Communist Party, which directs its activities all over the United States, under direction of Moscow headquarters, of course. At the same time that I held these offices, my specific activity was Communist infiltration of labor unions, factories, and other strategic and vital services, organization of seamen, infiltration of the Railroad Brotherhoods and so on. Another office that I held during the same period in the early '20s—I was put in charge of the Communist Party activities amongst the Negroes. Nationally, I was the first one to be in charge of this type of activities for the Communist Party. In 1927 I was sent to Moscow for more thorough training in the special colleges they have in Moscow for that purpose. I attended for three years — what is known as the Lenin School. While in Moscow, I attended many meetings at Communist International headquarters, then known as the Communist International. I had access to these meetings because I represented — at the same time as being in college — I represented the faction that is now in control of the Communist Party in the United States, the so-called Foster Faction.
Q. At this point I would like to ask you — Foster Faction is a faction that was headed by William Foster, who is the present Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. Is that correct?
A. Yes, sir. William Z. Foster.
Q. You represented that party in Moscow. Is that right? You were their—
A. I did. During my three years in Moscow, I also was a member of the various committees of an organization known as the Red International of Labor Unions. That was the international center which directed all Communist infiltration into the unions in all the countries. And, of course, I had an opportunity to get acquainted with the various leaders of the Russian Communist Party at that time. After I left Moscow — in 1930, I was sent to South America as a representative of

the international party, the Communist International. I stayed there a little short of two years in charge of the Communist Parties of Colombia and Venezuela. Upon my return to the United States, I was reassigned, again to be in charge of the Communist Party activities in the labor union field, and at the same time in charge of the party's policies amongst the unemployed. That was during the depression years. After that I was transferred to Ohio. This was in line with the policy then insisted upon from Moscow that the most talented party leaders must be assigned to strategic industry areas. I stayed there a little short of two years, until the time when I quit the Communist Party, which was about September, 1934. This, in brief, is a summation of at least the principal offices I held. There were some other activities, but I think that gives you a general idea.

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, you have spoken of the Lenin School. Would you tell us what sort of college the Lenin School was?

A. The Lenin School is not the type of college that you have here. They don't teach natural sciences, mathematics, or things like that. It is a school to train leaders for the various Communist parties in the arts of propaganda, agitation, organization, both open organizations and secret organizations, all types of conspirative organizations. It teaches the strategy and methods of infiltration, of disrupting the morale of a country, of penetrating various organizations that exist in a country, whether they be labor unions — or other types of organizations — of setting up what has become known in this country as "fronts" to serve as auxiliaries for the activities of the Communist Party. In short, all the various methods of training and organization and action are thoroughly taught there. The last three months are devoted to a thorough study of the methods of how to organize an insurrection — how to seize a city; how to organize squads for that purpose; what places to take in a city and which ones to ignore as non-essential; how to obtain arms for the purpose; how to infiltrate armed services, and so on. Now that gives you the idea of the type of college it is. For the entire three years one is busy studying in detail all this I have named. Between attendance of classes and reading text material, you spend not less than twelve hours a day — sometimes more. For three years! That gives you an idea how thorough is the training in those colleges for this purpose. That's in brief — of course. The doctrine is also studied in those schools, more thoroughly than usually is the case in the schools that the Communist Parties have in the various countries.

Q. Is the Lenin School the only such institution in Moscow?

A. No. There are several colleges. The reason for having several colleges is that on the different continents of the earth the problems are different. For instance, the Asiatics are all in one college known as the Eastern University. The Communists that come there for training from the developed industrial countries go to the Lenin School. And there is another college known as the Western University. That college trains Communists, I mean non-Russian, from agrarian, or semi-agrarian countries. Well, there are still other colleges, but that gives you an idea as to why there are different colleges. Of course,

the problems of Communist organization in Asia are different from the ones in a highly developed country. So there would be no point in teaching them methods of operation adaptable to Germany or the United States, when in Asia the problem is entirely different.

Q. Who pays for these colleges, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. All the expenses of these colleges, staff expenses, feeding, maintenance of dormitories, and transportation of coming to Russia and out again, is paid by the Soviet Government.

Q. Who are the teachers in these institutions?

A. Well, there is, of course, a routine staff which is there all the time; and in addition to that staff, which is, of course, composed of leading Communists, there are lectures by the principal leaders of the Russian Communist Party. Stalin lectured there twice; Molotov lectured there about four or five times; some of the other leaders of the Russian Communist Party — who have since been liquidated — lectured there during my time. That is, the colleges were considered important enough for the main leaders of the Russian Communist Party to lecture there.

Q. You spoke of Stalin. Did you know Stalin personally?

A. Yes, I knew Stalin personally. I had considerable to do with him because of the faction fight that then raged inside the Communist Party of the United States, and in which he was very much interested.

Q. You were representing one of the factions, and you knew him in that connection?

A. I represented the faction that was on his side in the International Communist Movement.

Q. This was the Foster Faction in 1928. Is that right — or thereabouts?

A. 1928, 1929, 1930. Yes, sir.

Q. In prior discussions you have stated that, actually, Stalin was the man who laid the strategy and tactics down for that particular faction. Isn't that correct?

A. He certainly did. Of course, officially he denied it, but actually, he was the principal director of it. I, of course, was in a position to know it, because I'm one who received instructions from him.

Q. You transmitted those instructions on to the party in the United States. Is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. I believe I have heard you describe Stalin as a "genius of a sort." Will you tell the committee what you meant by that?

A. Well, Stalin was not a theoretician. Of course, after he became complete ruler of Russia, the propaganda machine tried to make a theoretician out of him, but actually he was not a theoretician. But he was quite an able practician, especially in what we would call in the United States dirty in-fighting — inside the Communist movement. Methods which he later on, of course, extended to the international arena. It is by his genius for dirty in-fighting that he became the top leader. He would work with one faction in the Communist Party to liquidate another one. And after he liquidated that one, he would then liquidate his allies — those that he worked with temporarily. That's how he defeated Trotsky. Trotsky was next in importance to

Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet States. And everybody expected that Trotsky would be the logical leader after Lenin died, but Stalin with his talent for dirty infighting, allied himself with a certain group at that time headed by other close associates of Lenin against Trotsky, and succeeded to defeat Trotsky. And after he had Trotsky put away, then he turned upon his allies and liquidated them in turn, and that's how he gradually became the absolute ruler of Russia. That is, within a period of about six years, he became the absolute dictator of Russia.

Q. Now, you have spoken of Molotov. Did you know him personally?

A. Yes, I knew Molotov. He was Stalin's "Man Friday". He had no talent for tactics at all. That's why Stalin tolerated him. That's probably why he never got liquidated. But he was capable of understanding instructions, and he would not try to do his own thinking on tactics. He would depend on Stalin to do that. I got acquainted with him because he was put in charge by Stalin for about eight months of the affairs of the American Communist Party, so I had to clear certain things through him, and that's how I got acquainted with him.

Q. Do you know any of the present rulers of Russia personally?

A. Well, I know Bulganin, although I never had actually much to do with him, but he was at that time Secretary of the Moscow Soviet, and I was the delegate to the Moscow Soviet from the Lenin School collective. So, I had occasion to see him, meet with him, sit in sessions where various problems were discussed. But, since he was not in charge of any of the international activities, that is, activities outside of Russia, I had only occasional meetings with him.

Q. When did the Lenin School start?

A. The Lenin School started in 1926. So did the other colleges — just about that time.

Q. How many American Communists were being trained there while you were in Moscow, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. While I was in Moscow, there were eleven in the Lenin School. Then there were eight in the Eastern University, and four in the Western University. That's, I believe, about 22 or 23. But later on the numbers increased.

Q. Can you give us some of the names of those who were in training at that time?

A. Well, there was an individual by the name of Clark — that is, he used that name. His real name, I believe, was Sclar. USSR

Q. At this point, before going any further, Mr. Kornfeder, would you mind explaining to the committee the manner of use of names in the party, in the Communist Party, both here and in Russia?

A. Well, the Communist Party, being basically a conspirative organization, developed an extensive practice of using assumed names. For instance, in the party here, nearly everyone had what was known as a party name. So if he, well, let's say, was caught with a book in his pocket—his instructions were not to carry any party membership books with him — but assuming that, well, it happened, or that the police would pay an unannounced visit to where one lives, they would find a party membership book, well the book would never be in his name. He could

always say it's not him, and it's not his. Well, this was one reason for it. Now, assuming he would be transferred to another area of the United States, or assigned to activities, let's say, in China. There were many American Communists who were assigned to activities in China. That is, in the English speaking parts of China. Well, there he would adopt another name, so if anybody would refer to him under his real name, well, it would only be known to him and a few of the top leaders — what the background behind a certain name was. Then, if you were sent to Moscow to a college, like I was, well, there you adopted still another name. So if any information would come back to the United States, somebody would say, well, there is a fellow by the name of Newton, and Johnson, and Dewey, and Cass, and so on, being trained in Moscow colleges. In the United States, even inside the party, that wouldn't mean a thing, because these names simply did not exist here. They were not on record. They were especially used for that occasion during the stay in Moscow. Well, this gives you a general idea why all these changes of names and why that fitted in with that type of organization.

Q. To go back and state — could you give us the names of some of those who were in training with you — what names these were, insofar as you know — what type of names?

A. Well, there was Clarence Hathaway who later on became the editor of the Daily Worker. I know his real name. That's his real name. I forget his party name. Then there was Sam Don, who also became later an editor of the Daily Worker. The Daily Worker is the official organ of the Communist Party in the United States. Then there was one Harry Haywood, whose real name is Harry Ireall, and another one, Lightfoot, whose name there was, I believe, Newton. And there was one by the name of Baker. Now, that was an assumed name. I don't recall his real name. Then there was one Charles Krumbein. Well, those are a few names I remember offhand.

Q. Were there any Negroes among these people that you knew?

A. Oh, yes. This Harry Haywood was a Negro, and Lightfoot was a Negro. But most of the Negroes were not in the Lenin School. They were in the Eastern University.

Q. Why was that, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Well, the reason they put most of the Negroes in the Eastern University is that there was — somehow the idea prevailed amongst the Russian leaders that the Negroes in the United States are colonials. That is, they are, well, an oppressed group, and therefore, the purposes of the Communist Party would be best served if they were taught the methods that are taught in the Eastern University. Eastern University, of course, taught the methods of — customary for the Communists in colonial nations. They had trouble with that. That is, the Russian leaders had trouble with that because the American Negroes, although Communists, were used to a standard of living far above the one prevailing in the Eastern University. What was fed there, and the treatment received, was all right for Chinese who were used to a very low standard of living. So, the American Negroes who were assigned to the Eastern University — well, they rebelled against the conditions there. When

I say food, well, that's not the only thing, you know. There is another species of inhabitant in Russia, known as the louse. They are there by the billions. It's very hard to keep them out of anything. So the Negroes who were assigned there, they were plagued by these little animals also — all of which created a condition of intense dissatisfaction, as a result of which they had to transfer some of them to either the Lenin School, or to the Western University where conditions were better.

Q. You have said that these colleges of subversion were started in 1926. What is your estimate of the number of American Communists who have received training there during these past thirty years?

A. My estimate would be one — that includes the short courses, which were for a year, and those that took the full training course, which was three years — I would say the total number would be not less than 600. Probably more.

Q. I believe you stated that you took the three-year course while you were there?

A. I took the three-year course, yes.

Q. How many of these American Communists that attended and had training there would you say were Negro?

A. Well, approximately half of them, although most of that half took a one-year course.

Q. In other words, by way of estimate, you would say approximately half of the American Communists who have been trained in these various colleges in Russia during the last 30 years have been Negro?

A. That's right. That corresponds to the importance that Moscow attaches to getting the American Negro on their side.

Q. Now, do colleges of subversion in any way similar to these exist in other countries besides Russia?

A. Oh, yes. Of course, since then they have come to power in other countries. There's a big college known to exist of that type in Peking, China, which trains personnel for — that is, Communists — for leadership in the Asian countries. There is another one known to exist in Prague, Czechoslovakia. That information is accurate, because people who have been there know they exist. Probably similar colleges exist in other Communist-dominated countries. The Communist organization couldn't function without trained officer personnel, because the party organization isn't like the one that we here are accustomed to call a political party. The Communist Party is a quasi-military, highly centralized organization which can be maneuvered around very efficiently both in matters of tactics as well as matters of strategy. So, in order to have that type of organization they have to give these people more or less uniform training so that they react uniformly on matters of both doctrine, or strategy, or tactics. Originally the Russian leaders thought that maybe they could get along without these expensive colleges which, of course, cost them quite a fortune, but just about 1924 they came to the conclusion that they can't; so these colleges started — some of them in 1925 and others in 1926. That is, the whole Communist movement could not be what it is without these training colleges. The training colleges in Moscow are the apex of the training system. They

have colleges in all countries, but these are just short-term like, for instance, the American Party had the 3 months training course for what they called functionaries — officials — and they had training schools for 30 days for low echelon officials, and these schools still exist, but they would be entirely inadequate if there was not that superior training received in Moscow. The ones that teach in the — the training schools here are usually the ones that took their training in Moscow, and the pattern of instruction follows the pattern practiced in the Moscow colleges.

Q. Now, we have gone over some of the background of the training and some of the organizational set-up of the Communist Party International. Would you give us a brief statement of how Communism as a doctrine, or as a movement, differs from Democracy?

A. I consider that—

SENATOR RAINACH:

If you don't mind, Mr. Kornfeder, we are considering a recess at this time, I believe. The committee will recess at this moment until 1:30, at which time the testimony of the witness will be resumed.

RECESS FOR LUNCH

HEARING RESUMED — MARCH 7, 1957 — 1:30 P. M.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee will come to order. We have a quorum and will dispense with the roll call. The General Counsel will proceed with the questioning of the witness.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, as a former leading member of the Communist Party, not only in this country, but internationally, I'd like to ask you to tell the committee briefly in what way Communism differs from Democracy?

A. Well, there is so much to say on that that I will try to make it brief. First, the Communism we are speaking about is not the Communism of the Ancients who a couple of thousand years ago worked in communes, and which became a component part of Christianity. What we are talking about is the thing that over in Russia calls itself Communism. It's a system based on the idea that the state is everything and the individual is just a cog in the big machinery of the state. The state in this case, of course, I mean, government. Well, on the basis of that concept that the state is everything, there is formed a party known as the Communist Party to dominate the state. It's the party that makes it possible to operate that type of a state, what Lenin and Stalin called a monolithic party, a party which is highly regimented — even more so than, let's say, the United States Army. That type of a party makes it possible to operate that sort of a state.

Democracy is based entirely on opposite concepts. Of course, when I say Democracy, I mean a representative form of government. It is based on the idea that the individual has certain basic inalienable

rights, irrespective of what the majority would want to have. When the Communists speak about a majority they mean, of course, a system like theirs, where all opposition is eliminated and the Communist Party is the only one; and, of course, such kind of a party always guarantees a majority because the minority is simply done away with — liquidated. So, the democratic system, which is based on certain basic rights for the individual, then creates a state structure and a social structure based on that concept — that the individual has certain basic rights— and along that line there has grown up our system of representative government, of rights to property, a right which, of course, doesn't exist in Russia. The right to property belongs to just one institution— the state. And when I say the state, I mean the state is the Communist Party. That's the state. There is nothing beyond the Communist Party as an authority in Russia. Well, on the basis of the rights of the individual there has grown up the parliamentary system — the congress, the senate, the division of legislative, executive, judicial functions and so on and so forth. All these kinds of divisions and functions, of course, don't exist in Russia. The executive, the legislative, and the judicial — that's all wrapped into one. Small party committees decide what the judges are to do, what the so-called Soviet Congress is to do and what everybody else is to do.

The Communist Party, therefore, is entirely different from the kind of parties that we have here or in other countries. It is an anti-parliamentary party, which aims to abolish everything that you recognize as representative of democratic government. When they come into power, legislative bodies, the judicial system, and everything else we have gets abolished. And when I say abolished, I mean abolished completely and thoroughly! So, the Communist Party has no claim — I mean justified claim, for existence as a legal party, because it aims to do away with all other political parties — with the very system which gave birth to the political parties. It's a stranger that calls itself a political party.

Q. At this point, Mr. Kornfeder, would you say that the Communist Party is like other parties in that it's based on political clubs — or is there a substantial difference as compared with other parties and political organizations as to organization and structure?

A. It is good you asked the question, because that's another basic characteristic difference between existing political parties and the Communist Party. The existing political parties are based on political clubs. Clubs put up candidates by the appropriate process of selection whom they submit to the people either in the form of primaries or otherwise. And the one that's chosen as a candidate then is elected by his constituents and responsible to the constituents. The Communist Party, especially in its form of organization, shows how different, totally different, it is. The Communist Party has no political clubs. If it puts up candidates it's for the purpose of utilizing election campaigns to propagandize their ideas and theories. The basic party unit is not a political club— it's a secret cell in a factory, especially the factories in basic industry, or in an office, or a secret cell inside of a regiment, or a secret cell in a government office. Here again we come to what I said this morn-

ing — it's a conspirative organization which has certain tentacles on the surface, but the real animal is below — underground. The reason they are based that way is they don't aim to elect anybody, even when they put up a candidate. They're constructing a conspirative semi-military organization to seize power by force, not by election, and this is the type of organization most suitable for that purpose. If the Communist Party were a parliamentary type of organization as the other political parties are, this sort of organizational structure would have no purpose. Even the Socialist Party is based on political clubs and branches. Why? Because although the Socialist Party has general aims somewhat similar to the doctrine of Communism, it aims to get there by parliamentary methods, but the Communists don't aim to get there by parliamentary methods. So they have an entirely different type of organization. You can distinguish them from other parties through their type of organization even more than through their doctrine. One feature of this type of conspiracy hasn't been sufficiently recognized in this country — namely, that its organizational structure is basically different from all other parties.

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, is the American Communist Party an American party or is it directed and controlled from outside the United States?

A. The Communist Party of the United States, like all other Communist Parties, is totally controlled and directed from Moscow. I mean to an extent that even surprised me when I got to Moscow. I, of course, knew that all the main directions came from Moscow even before I went there, but I didn't know to what extent and in what detail those directions came from Moscow.

Q. Much of this detail that you are speaking of you got from Stalin himself in your capacity as a representative of the Foster Faction? Is that correct?

A. Well, no. I didn't — I sat on the committees that were sending instructions.

Q. You participated in it, then?

A. I was in a position to know in what detail these instructions were sent. Moscow controls the Communist Party here in so many different ways. Of course, Moscow spends quite a bit of money on the American Communist Party. The party has a standing subsidy. Its principal newspapers are subsidized from Moscow. Its most important activities are subsidized from Moscow. Its personnel is trained in Moscow. The various departments of the Communist Party in the United States are directed by corresponding departments in Moscow. For instance, at the Communist International Headquarters, you have the Organization Department. Well, in the American Communist Party, you have the Organization Department. The Organization Department in the American Communist Party is under the direction of the Organization Department in Moscow. The Youth Organization — there is a set-up in Moscow to direct the Youth Activities, so the Young Communist League in the United States is under the direction of the department handling the youth activities in Moscow. The same thing about activities amongst women — a special type of work that would appeal to this sector. Then agitation and propaganda — the American Party

has an Agitation-Propaganda Department; in Moscow there is an Agitation-Propaganda Department. It interlinks. The machinery of the American Communist Party is just a subsidiary, like for instance, a branch office of a corporation — a subsidiary of the World Communist Party. There is no independence to it in any sense whatever. The main policy is decided from Moscow. It's a branch, a section. Originally, they even called themselves American Section of Communist International.

The conditions of affiliation—twenty-one conditions of affiliation—which every party has to accept—embody all the principles of submission of the section to the headquarters, and that's the way the American Communist Party's also operated. It's a party which is operated and directed from outside the United States.

Q. Does the Communist Party in the United States represent a specific stratum of society — in other words, is it a class party or does it represent the interests of Russia as a state?

A. Well, of course, theoretically, they claim they are the most intelligent expression of the interests of the working class which they call the proletariat. The theory that the working class could best be represented by a party which unites the thinking element among them originally sounded plausible until they got in control in Russia. After they were in control in Russia for about ten years, it was obvious to anyone who knew the realities that the alleged working class, which is supposed to be in control of the government, simply has just nothing to say about the government. It's an absolute zero. It has, as a class, no rights and no authority and—well, it's treated like all other parts of the population. If you object to anything, you will probably get a visit at 2:00 in the morning by the secret political police and you will disappear. And it makes no difference whether you are a working man, or whether you are a peasant, or whether you are anything else, opposition simply is not allowed. So the pretense that they represent the working man is just a pretense. It's a theory which, when it came to a test, well, there was just no actual reality behind it. The Communist Party (when it's in opposition) of course claims to represent the workers, the exploited, and so on, but actually it represents just its own program — the program to seize power and to abolish present society and institute a totalitarian system which they call Communism.

That's all the Communist Party represents, and that's all it does when it comes to power. It imposes that system. It represents no class or class interests. It represents just the program to do away with representative government and institute a totalitarian system where the Communists would be the political aristocracy, which they are in Russia. The Communists have privileges which others have not, and their privileges have been growing year by year as the system continues to exist. So, I think the facts deny the theoretical claims — something that, of course, thirty years ago you couldn't say with such clarity, because they just had come into power and you couldn't tell what would come of it; but thirty years after, you could definitely say that the Communist Party is a major evil for all classes, including the working class.

Q. How do you account for the tremendous interest of the Communist Party in the Negroes and for the great volume of literature that the Communist Party addresses to the Negroes?

A. Well, the main interest of the party in the Negro is, I think, a rather obvious one. They are aware of the fact that in addition to their usual methods of working over certain elements of the population with their propaganda, like—let's say—to the working man, they say "you have to work, you don't get enough, you should get more, work less"—well in the case of the Negro, there is something added to that. There is the emotional factor of racial difference, and they intend to exploit that, and they do. And on the basis of that, they figure that perhaps they could get that whole segment of the population on their side and use it for their purposes. That's the basic reason for their big interest in the Negro, and it's not just an interest in the Negro either. They figure that by working the Negro side of the street, as it were, they could create a situation amongst the whites. Something like if you put a couple of cocks to fight each other by picking on each other, well, they will eventually get mad enough at each other to really make a job on themselves. They figure that this racial aspect can be exploited for that purpose. They've made a tremendous effort. They look upon the Negro as a strategic element for the purpose of creating a general situation upon which they can move in with great profit.

Q. Could it be said that the Communist activity is a method of continual warfare against existing society in preparation for total destruction of that society?

A. Oh, definitely. They are the only ones that have a complete pattern of warfare—warfare in what we call peacetime leading up to what generally would be called wartime. They are at war with existing society all the time. And, of course, they specialize in making that war. Their approach to the Negroes would be a little different from their approach to the youngsters in the colleges and schools, and that would differ somewhat from their approach to the working man in the factories. They are at war on all fronts of society all the time. It's unfortunate that the leadership of the democracies hasn't yet waked up to that fact. Why, Russia was conquered that way. It wasn't conquered by armies from outside; it was conquered from inside. China was conquered that way. The two major components of the Communist empire were an operation done from inside by this type of warfare. Of course, it's a tremendous propaganda swindle, but man's mind is able to absorb bad ideas just as well as good ones—especially if there is a machine very busy to sell 'em the bad ideas!

Q. Does Moscow recruit its espionage agents from the ranks of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. That accounts for the excellence of their espionage service. No other country has such facilities — that of having people who are idealistically devoted as recruiting material for what otherwise is considered not such a desirable operation. That's why they have about the most devout and perfect intelligence service of any power. It's based upon the Communist Party. That doesn't mean that every

Communist is an espionage agent. Most of the Communists are just political warriors. But the espionage agents are recruited from the ranks of the Communist Party. No doubt about that.

Q. You have explained some of the operational methods of the Communist Party when it's in opposition. Can you give us briefly some illustrations as to what would happen if a party like the Communist Party came to power? What, for instance, would happen to private property?

A. Oh, well, when the Communists come into power—this is one of their principal tenets — all private property is abolished. And I mean abolished! There is no such thing possible under Communism as private property. It's a negation of their system. The state cannot dominate completely and make every individual subservient if the individual has any economic independence by owning property. The property element has to be entrely eliminated if the system is to entrench itself, function and come about. So property—private property is completely done away with.

Now, they may not do that on the morrow after they seize the power. But it won't take long. They may proceed to expropriate the big ones first, as they have done, then go to the middle-sized ones and eventually end up with the little storekeeper and the little professional and the little, little fellow who owns the land and so on and so forth. As a matter of fact, it's in this field that you can see their duplicity most. Before they come to power they promise to any peasant who hasn't got enough land or a farmer who just has, let's say, a few acres—they promise them division of the land. They are going to take it away from the big fellows and give it to the small ones.

Q. That's what is known as Agrarian Reform as used in China. Is that correct?

A. That's right. But after they do come into power, based on the principle that this type of a state cannot tolerate private property, they eventually expropriate everyone, including the ones who obtained more land through them, and the state takes over the land as well. Of course, they, in this case again, do a bit of semantic deception. They call it collectives. They sell it (the idea) to the peasant on the belief that he will retain the land but he will own it as a collective. But that, also, is just another stage in the complete expropriation. So that eventually all private property held by whomever will belong to the state.

Q. What would happen to such things as our monetary system—our bank deposits, insurance policies and things of that type?

A. Well, our monetary system is based on—on the kind of economy that exists with the representative government — on private ownership and all the other things that go with it. So when the Communists wipe out that sort of society—with the wiping out goes the monetary system—stocks, bonds, insurance policies become that much paper. You can use it for wallpaper after that.

Q. Who would operate the various enterprises and property if the owners are put out?

A. Oh, now, you are coming to the real big headache. Of course, originally

the theory was that the workmen would take over the factories, and they would have committees, and the committees would operate the factories. But, of course, after they actually came to it, they found out that you can't operate a factory with a party council. You've got to know production, and you've got to know technological organization. You have to know all the processes that go in the production and maintenance and — well, then they found out, of course, that they needed technicians, and the managers, and so on and so forth, many of whom they had exterminated as class enemies before that. Well, they had to go and pay very high salaries and so on to get foreign technicians to take over and teach the arts of production management to the new political bosses of Russia—a system and a problem they haven't yet solved to this day. It's one of the reasons for the economic weakness—one reason amongst many—of the Soviet system—that they had wiped out these skilled classes of managers, engineers, technicians and so on and so forth. And so, they haven't yet been able to completely replace them. Well, the theory, of course, is very simple—that the party takes over industry and commerce and transportation and so on. But to actually do it wasn't to be quite as easy as the theory sounded.

Q. What about social organizations, such as the Kiwanis and Rotary Club, veterans' organizations, things of that type—what would happen to those?

A. Well, the Kiwanis and Rotary, of course, they would be considered in the enemy class. They are the business element which is going to be liquidated. So this type of organization would be abolished. That's right in the first stages. They would abolish this type of organization, and they would be disbanded, and the leaders of it would be arrested. And the same thing would happen, of course, to political party leaders, government officials who had been operating the previous government and so on. The Rotaries would go along with it. Of course, the American Legion and the V.F.W. and so on—they would be considered in the category of enemy organizations and liquidated.

Q. What might occur in such institutions as our public schools? What change, if any, would be made in that?

A. Well, the public schools—of course, the present textbooks would be practically all thrown out except the ones that deal with technical subjects, and you would have textbooks that preach adherence to the new system. It takes time to produce the new textbooks—well, say it takes time. That won't matter. The old textbooks would be disposed of just the same. Why? Because the old textbooks are—would continue to preach the concept upon which the present society is based. So on the basis of their methods of operation, you will have — rather have no textbooks than to have the wrong ones. And, as far as the top echelons of the teaching system, of course, they would all be manned by Communists and, as soon as possible, they would purge all the teaching staffs. When I say purge, I mean quite thoroughly, and eliminate all elements they consider in the least hostile. You'd have to preach what the—and teach what the new regimented state said you should. That's what would happen to the educational system.

Q. I believe you stated previously in our conversation that they would probably not only liquidate those people that they felt were hostile to them, but anyone they felt might later become hostile. Is that right?

A. Yes, sir. That's one of the special features of this type of regime. They figure that—assuming you had been a business man—even though you were not active in politics—on the basis of that, they figure that you have what they call bourgeois ideology, capitalistic methods of thought, and therefore, because of that background, you are a potential enemy. So, it would be only a matter of time until you would get one of those famous visits—very famous with Russia—at 2:00 o'clock in the morning, and would be picked up and disappear and—well, that would be about the last heard of you.

Q. How about justice under Communism?

A. Well, justice has the same fate as private property has. There's only one kind of justice in Russia and, of course, you wouldn't call that justice. I wouldn't call it justice; no one except the Communists call it justice. Their justice is based on the convenience of the Communist Party. If a certain thing serves the interests of the Communist Party, then it's justice. If it doesn't, then it has to be done away with. There's no such thing as independent judiciary, or a jury system, or any other guarantees which under a representative government protect the individual and his rights. There is only one thing protected in the dominion of the Communist Party—anything which serves their purpose is just; anything that doesn't has to be done away with. And when I say that, I could quote you the writings of Lenin, who, as a free-hand quotation, said that "Communist moral is based on what serves the purposes of Communism." Everything else is not considered Communist moral. In other words, they have no independent concept of justice. It's related to the political regime and their regime is, of course, the Communist Party.

Q. How about religious institutions and religion in general?

A. Well, religion is considered, of course, a hostile ideology—every kind of religion! As a matter of fact, every kind of thought different from Communist thought is considered hostile to the regime. Now, when they came to power in Russia, they thought they could solve that by a direct attack, but they found that the peasant was very religious. He resisted liquidation of the churches. In the cities they had a rather easy time of that, but the villages — when they began war on religion—for a number of years the Communist Party only controlled thirty miles on each side of the railroad track. If they wanted to go beyond that, they had to take at least a full battalion of police troops because the peasants resisted the arrest of the priests and liquidation of the churches.

So then they decided to tolerate the situation for the time being and solve the problem some other way. Of course, they immediately dissolved the central organization of the church; they forbade the printing of religious literature; they forbade teaching religion to youngsters and so on; and they forbade the maintenance of the seminaries to train new preachers. They figured that when the old ones died out

and the thing would sort of die by itself. Of course, later on they found that religion, as it were, was something with nine lives in it—so then they changed their methods and adopted a new one of creating a split inside of the remaining churches — creating a faction which advocated the acceptance of the Soviet system as against the old orthodox religionists. And that's the faction that's now in control of whatever remains of the church in Russia.

Q. What about labor unions, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Yes, that's one of the most tragic disappointments of all those in the labor movement who are familiar with what happened in Russia. As I said before, according to their theory—the working class was supposed to be the ruling class; therefore, the labor unions were supposed to be the organizations that would ride high and handsome as this new government comes into office. Though actually what happened is just the very opposite! The labor unions were just made auxiliaries to the Communist government. Of course, all independence on the part of these unions disappeared because they were controlled by the Communist Party, and as organizations controlled by the Communist Party, their orders come down from the Communist Party, and any orders to the contrary from any union, well, would be quite risky. So, within a number of years—about six years, the unions found themselves in a position worse than what used to be the company unions in the United States—because at least the company unions operated in a country that's otherwise free. And even in a company union you could criticize the management, and the government, and this and that, and even go on strike without being sent to Siberia, but after the Communists entrenched themselves in power, unions just became that many policing instruments over the workers. Thus, they became just the opposite of what a union's function is supposed to be. Workmen can't protect themselves in Russia, through so-called unions that exist in Russia. On the contrary, he has to look upon the union officials as his persecutors who are there for the purpose of doing him wrong or getting more work out of him for less pay, and well, "tormentors at the point of production," as some of the Russians call them, after they had lived through that for fifteen years or so. That's what became of the unions.

Q. Are people permitted to vote or take part in political activities under a Communist form of government when it comes into power?

A. Yes, they are permitted to vote, yes.

Q. What's the point of allowing them to vote in such an instance of this kind when actually they have no other freedom?

A. Well, they are permitted to vote, but they are not permitted to choose. The sense of permitting them to vote just the same even though they have no—no right to choose—because they can only vote for one type of candidate—the ones approved by the directing committee of the Communist Party. But permitting them to vote just the same does have its sense which is very little understood in countries outside of Russia. You can check on their sentiments. It's a police proposition. The voting is done by factories or offices, or in the countryside it's done by collective farms. In other words, assuming that you work in a factory and there are 2,000 people working there and, of

course, you and the 2,000 don't throw their ballots into one box. Every department has a polling booth. Well, so, let's say in a particular corner of the voting system there are 200 ballots that were supposed to be cast, well, there are only 160. Well, why didn't the other 40 vote? Well, let's say, the other 40 are marked blank, the candidates are crossed out. Well, then the secret political police will go to work. Who could have been those 40? And those 40 will disappear within the next twelve months, and then be transported into a slave labor camp. The slave labor camps, you see, have become so big that it is an essential part of Soviet economy. You must replenish them. You must have that much of slave labor in order to operate certain projects. So, periodically the secret political police get an assignment as to how many they have to deliver, a quota assignment. Well, they pick from those that either may not have voted or may have criticized but weren't arrested right away. They are put on a list and then when the political police has to fill its quota, those are the ones that are then arrested. So the voting in this type—in this case—helps to trace the actual or potential opposition.

Q. What becomes of freedom of the press and speech and similar and other rights that we enjoy here in this country at this time under such a system?

A. Well, the same thing that happens to private property. It simply perishes as a right. It's done away with completely. There's only one organization that under such a system can print, publish, organize, direct and command and what-not, and that's the Communist Party. And the Communist Party itself is not within it a democratic organization either. It's a very hierarchical organization where the top commands, and the bottom obeys. So, although all this is done in the name of the Communist Party and through the instrumentality of the Communist Party, actually the Communist Party itself is a thoroughly regimented organization, and you can't get rid of the leaders — the leaders get rid of you before you get rid of them.

Q. Is it possible to put a party like the Communist Party out of office once it has come to power?

A. Well, you can't do it legally. That is entirely impossible. You can, of course, blow up the whole thing like happened in Hungary recently where the population couldn't stand the thing anymore and the whole thing exploded like a tremendous volcano. It was such an explosion that even the Communist Party went to pieces under it, and the rebellion turned out to be a rebellion of the whole population including a rebellion of the Communists who were rebelling against Communism. And, of course, the Hungarians are a more developed, western-type of population. They just couldn't stand that any more, and so they exploded. That's the only way of getting rid of them. There's no other way. You can elect them into office but once. Of course, they usually don't wait that long. They usually grab power before that, but you can never put them out of office without — well, just doing it like the Hungarians.

Q. On a former occasion you compared the Communist infiltration in institutions and things of that type to the Trojan Horse. Would you

mind explaining what you meant by using that analogy?

A. Well, the Trojan Horse term was one used by them themselves to illustrate a certain tactic of operation in the capitalist countries. It was used in 1935 by Georgi Dimitrov, who was the head of the Communist International, who said that the Communist — well, something that, of course, Stalin had said many times before — that in this kind of fighting and warfare, you sometimes get to a point much better and sooner if you go around instead of going directly. Well, so the Communists then had been, as it were, lambasting the democratic system — denouncing it this way, that way, and so on and so forth, in trying to get recruits and a following on the basis of their denunciation. Well, they found that rather difficult. So, they came around to the idea of doing it differently, and Georgi Dimitrov called that the Trojan Horse Method. Now the illustration comes from ancient history where the Greeks were having a war with, I believe, Sparta, and the problem was to capture a city by the name of Troy. Well, Troy was well defended and they couldn't take it. So they made a maneuver—they made it appear that they were abandoning the seige of the City of Troy and retreated but left a huge wooden horse standing there. The wooden horse had something to do with the religion of Troy. So, when night came the Trojans opened up the gates and took in the horse within the city — the wooden horse. But inside that wooden horse was a company of soldiers. And the arrangement was that as soon as the Trojans take that wooden horse in and night comes, the Greek army comes back and the soldiers from inside the Trojan horse will have opened up the gates and let the Greeks in. So, the illustration here is that you can get into the enemy's fortress easier, better, by deception than by direct attack. It is to take by guile and deception and trickery what you cannot take otherwise.

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, to pass now to the question of racial incitation which is, of course, the particular concern of this committee, I have noticed in examining Communist literature, particularly literature addressed to the Negroes in the South, the Communists advocate a separate Negro republic to be formed in and out of the southern states of the United States. Will you explain to us what personal knowledge you have of the origin of that doctrine and something about the purposes and intents of it?

A. Well, the doctrine originated with Joseph Stalin himself, while I was in Moscow, that's how I happened to know about it, and it was tried out on me since I represented the Foster Faction, to see what reactions there would be to it. I, of course, considered it entirely impractical. When I was then told that this proposition comes from Stalin himself, I was very much astounded, because, with all the deviltries that Stalin was capable of, his proposals usually had practicability to them. Now this thing seemed to me entirely impractical, and I — well, I — it stumped me so much that I just let go at it and considered it absolutely absurd. Well, about a week later the same individual, Losowsky, through whom — whom I communicated as a translator to do business with Stalin, who (Losowsky) was himself one of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, invited me up to his apartment in

Moscow, and gave me some additional explanations. He said it's not too important whether the thing can be done in the United States in the south or not. What is important is to have a unifying slogan around which one could ideologically rally all the Negroes. He said that until then the Communists had made various passes at the American Negro, advocating one or another issue, or remedy, or proposition, but there was no unifying slogan. So this proposition of Negro nationalism — I mean nationalism based on a race — was conceived by Stalin as a slogan to get all the Negroes — not just working man Negroes, or farmers that are Negroes, and so on — to get all Negroes as a race on the Communist side. Well, of course, that — from that point of view I could understand that — that already has to do with broad political warfare strategy. But even then I said, "But why try to apply it in such an absurd fashion like trying to tear out a part of the economic and social fabric of the United States — in one part of the United States?" I said, "I don't think the American Negro will go for that, and it is not practical — not feasible." Well, the answer to that was this, that the American Negro amongst all the Negroes in the world is the most advanced one. That if he doesn't go for the idea of racial nationalism, well, then the whole thing is a miscalculation and, of course, Stalin was thoroughly convinced that racial nationalism could be sold to the Negro, irrespective of whether it could be applied in the form of a Negro republic in the south or not. That's where this thing originated. First, the American Negro Communists that were in Moscow reacted similarly to myself. They thought it was impractical, also. But the thing — the doctrine was imposed on the party just the same because, well, Stalin was the boss of all the Communist Party. That's how eventually the Communist Party of the United States accepted it.

Q. What year was that, that that doctrine was first proposed?

A. Well, first time I heard about it was in 1928.

Q. That was when Losowsky first called you up and presented the doctrine to you as a proposal. Is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. Under the Communist proposal, to whom did the Negro's primary loyalty belong — to the United States — under this arrangement — to the United States or to the Negro republic, as was proposed?

A. Oh, the primary loyalty on the basis of that doctrine would be to the Negro republic. That's basically the same doctrine as Hitler had, that all Aryan Germans, no matter where they lived, and no matter what country they were citizens of, owed their primary loyalty to Hitler's Germany. It's similar to the doctrine of part of the Jews known as Zionists, who had that doctrine even before Hitler, who said that if the Jews will succeed to set up a homeland according to the Zionist program, their loyalty will be primarily to Palestine.

Q. Was this black republic to be a part of the United States or was it to be an extension of, say, Africa, as the homeland of the Negro?

A. Well, it would not be part of the United States. What they advocated is a completely separate Negro republic, which was created on the basis

that the Negroes in all that area have a majority and, therefore, are entitled to supremacy there — to complete domination. Here again, it's like in the case where I said that the Communists speak in the name of the factory workers, the proletariat. Well, here is the same idea — the Communists would come into power in a part of the United States in the name of the Negroes, but it would actually be a Communist government operated within those several hundred counties, which would go into the formation of a Negro republic.

Q. Well, now on the basis of this proposal of a separate Negro republic in the United States it would seem to me that this would result in a more or less complete national segregation, yet the Communist Party in all the literature they put out pretend to be the foremost opponent of any type of segregation. How do you reconcile such opposite doctrines in the party — or are they reconciled?

A. Well, the Communists don't have to reconcile anything. They can advocate totally contradictory policies as long as it yields political profit for them. I mean they are not plagued like we are by conscience or consistency in things like that. They are in political warfare completely amoral. There is no such thing that you have got to follow this or that pattern. So they would advocate a Negro republic, where all the Negroes that lived there would be, as it were, segregated, as you say, and at the same time they advocated that in the big cities of the North where there's lots of Negroes that the Negroes should have a separate municipality, with their own police and their own mayors and so on and so forth, but, of course, the expenses were to be borne by the city as a whole—not just by the Negro section of the city. And that in their mind is thoroughly consistent. Why? Because what they actually aim at is to use the Negro, organize him in such a fashion as to use him as a festering center for rebellion inside the larger community as a whole. The Negro republic would, of course, be a Communist one. Those types of municipalities would, of course, be dominated by the Communists in most cases, and each of them would become a festering center inside the democratic set-up which would, of course, under Communist leadership carry on continued disturbances, provocations, discontent and so on and so forth. With their theory that's completely consistent. Of course, after they would seize power in the United States as such, they could abolish the whole business, and who was going to say no? There just wouldn't be anybody to say no, but for the time being it would serve their purposes. And that's what they have in mind. They aim to use the Negro — preach a doctrine of racial nationalism in order to use the Negro for their purpose. Once they have used him, well, then they will do with the Negro what they have done in Russia with the peasants and the working man. Just make him a tool for their purposes. Therefore, it's consistent with the theory of using all methods to seize power. Otherwise, of course, it's not consistent.

Q. I believe you stated that after you helped form the Communist Party in the United States in 1919, you eventually came to be a member of the Central Committee. Is that not correct, sir?

A. Yes.

Q. I believe you further stated that you were the first person put in charge of Communist activity among the Negroes in the United States. Is that correct?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Would you mind relating to the Committee your experience—particular experience with regard to that first assignment that you had in regard to Negro activity in the Communist Party?

A. Well, the Communist Party activities amongst the Negroes here in the United States started about 1921, and were prompted by a letter sent to the American Party by Nikolai Lenin who was then the dominant figure in Russia and the founder of the Soviet State. He said in that letter — I am, of course, not quoting it textually — I am just giving you the sense of it — that they were surprised that in the reports the American Party was sending over to Moscow there was no mention of activities amongst Negroes. And he considered the Negroes in the United States a strategically important element, and he wanted to see a report of what the Communist Party was doing amongst the Negroes. Well, so, of course, the party couldn't ignore a letter from Nikolai Lenin, and I was then the junior member of the Central Committee; so they had to put on record that somebody was assigned to perform that function; so I was the one who was assigned to do that. Well, when I looked around I found that there was simply no Negro membership in the Communist Party; even in New York or Chicago, there wasn't a single Negro Communist in the Communist Party that I knew. Nobody had thought of doing that before this letter that came from Russia. Well, so just the same, since I was the one assigned, I was going to explore the possibilities. I knew from the Socialist Party that there were some Negroes in Harlem in a branch of the Socialist Party which was mostly Negroes, although there were also whites in the same branch, and I looked up one of them and he advised me to see an individual by the name of Cyril Briggs. Well, I looked up this individual, and he was the editor of a paper called The Crusader, which was the official organ of a Negro organization called the African Blood Brotherhood. Well, I put in quite an effort on this fellow Briggs, to see whether I could work him over ideologically, and as I got acquainted with him, I noticed that he was having his financial troubles publishing the paper. I didn't tell him that I represented the Community Party, of course. I just posed as a liberal uncle, who had his sympathies on the Negro side, and was willing to help him. Whenever he ran into some trouble about paying the printer, well, I always obliged with a few hundred dollars. This way I became friends with this Briggs and I worked him over ideologically, and the cant of the journal changed. And, of course, in due time I got at some of his friends who were on the Board of Directors, and, well, it took only about a year before the controlling influence in that organization upon top was exerted through me, and they pretty nearly would do, although they weren't yet in the party, what I wanted them to do. Well, and later on I signed him up into the Communist Party as a member. So that was the first Negro organization that the party got hold of ideologically, at least — later on organizationally. That's how the thing started.

Q. What about the N.A.A.C.P. What was it doing at that time?

A. The N.A.A.C.P. at that time was a rather small organization. To the best of my recollection it just had a couple of thousand members composed of the upper class Negroes, and a lot of liberal whites. And the aims it had were rather moderate — that would be race reconciliation and, of course, it was willing and did defend Negroes in such legal cases as resulted from some riots or some attacks on Negroes — lynchings and so on and so forth. It was not at that time an organization that you could say was trying to set fire to anything. Just a liberal outfit that tried to do a certain amount of good in bringing the two races together. We decided to ignore it at the time as not being important enough to bother with.

Q. What was the Universal Negro Improvement Association?

A. Oh, that was the big organization at that time. The Universal Negro Improvement Association was led by an individual by the name of Marcus Garvey—he was a Jamaican Negro, but a remarkable Negro orator. I mean his oratory just really went over with the Negroes — it was colorful, emotional. He got together in a number of years the largest Negro organization which had until then existed in the United States. Of course he claimed a fantastic membership. He claimed about three million members, but we put one of our men into his office — he was a writer, an educated fellow — as an aid to him, and we found out what his actual membership was. It was less than 300,000 instead of three million. But it was a very active, enthusiastic organization, and so my idea was that's the one to go after — either to capture it from inside or if we can't, well, to see whether we can ruin it. That was the big organization at the time.

Q. Did you actually do anything in connection with your purpose of either capturing or ruining this organization?

A. Oh, yes. We offered what Communists always offer when they want to move in — in full status — a "Trojan Horse." They offer "unity." Of course, whenever they offer to unite, they offer to unite like the tiger unites with the lamb, by chewing it up and digesting it. Well, but this fellow Marcus Garvey, he — well, he just didn't go for the idea. Now, what special reason he may have had I don't know. He certainly wasn't educated on the kind of fighting that we launched on him, but he probably was afraid that if he would unite with us — well, he had some skeletons in his closet. He was operating a number of rackets, and he probably was afraid that if uninvited guests came to dinner, well, they may sort of notice those things and it may not be so good for him. So he rejected. He wouldn't unite. Well, after that there was only one thing we could do, since he had a formidable organization and an enthusiastic following, well, we had to split his organization. Of course, when the Communists split an organization, it's always in the name of doing good — doing better than the other fellow, and so on. Then, we had in mind that if that doesn't pressure him enough, well, eventually we will go to work on him exposing his rackets. Well, that's what happened. We criticized his program — his program was that the Negro should go back to Africa and that the Negro is as good as the white man and he should show it by imitating the white

man. So he had organized an outfit he called the Black Star Steamship Line, which was supposed to be some number of ships that — a combination of freight and passenger — allegedly were cruising between the United States and Africa, and between the United States and some southern countries, and so on. Then he also in the same line of thought had created something that he called The Negro Factories Corporation. He was selling stocks in both these corporations. Of course, we had meanwhile, after investigation, found out that his Black Star Steamship Line that he was selling stock in — and the idea was going over quite enthusiastically — was a fraud and his Negro Factories Corporation was a fraud. So, after we couldn't do with the fellow what we originally thought we could, and after we had criticised his program, we, of course, said that the American Negro will never go back to the bushes in Africa; whatever complaints he has in the United States, complaints and all, he is much better off than in Africa, and he wouldn't want to go there; if any of them do go there they will soon come back. And we considered this whole thing an absurdity. Well, the criticism had an effect, and he was holding one of those show conventions that he held every two years to which he invited all Negro organizations in this country and other countries — he invited also the African Blood Brotherhood. That was his big mistake. So we sent a large delegation there and the delegation, of course, demanded an accounting of his income, funds and other things. Meanwhile we had created a bulletin which was dressed up as a news bulletin in such a way as if it was coming from Garvey's organization. And the bulletin was sending news about the doings at that convention. The Negro papers, of which there were several hundred weeklies, thought it was news from the convention. But it was gradual criticism of Marcus Garvey — subtle, but positive. So he got excited and decided to expel the delegates of the African Blood Brotherhood. Well, after that we just sent out a photostat from the Maritime Commission which said that the Negro — that the Black Star Steamship Line does not own any ships. We sent it to the Negro papers and, of course, that was a terrific blow against Marcus Garvey's organization.

Then some of the Negroes had bought his fraudulent stock. They came to the offices of the African Blood Brotherhood and we sent them to a Communist lawyer — very able guy — and he helped them to complain to the Post Office, and so Marcus Garvey was then arrested for using the United States mails to defraud, and the Post Office raided his headquarters and found there even more than we knew.

Well, the wind-up was that the whole thing ended up in a terrific crash. His organization went to pieces inside of about three years completely, and the Communist Party picked up many of the pieces. So this way, by these various methods, we demolished an obstruction to Communist activities among the Negroes, and there was an additional recruitment. Of course, the new recruitment went into the African Blood Brotherhood. That, in short, is the beginning of Communist activity amongst the Negroes. The point of that is, that when there is a situation, even if you have nothing, you can create some-

thing, if you haven't got too much conscience and are willing to use any and all methods.

Q. You were in charge of this operation for the Communist Party, is that correct?

A. I was the one who directed the whole thing.

Q. I notice from the Communist Party Negro literature on hand that we have in our possession, that the party has created a number of Negro fronts, and these fronts have a following among the Negroes, that these fronts come and go under different names. They are apparently created and liquidated one after another. Can you tell us what is the reason intended behind this particular type of operation?

A. Well, as I said before, the Communist Party simply had no experience on the subject of getting at the Negro. Originally, it was started from scratch. So, it was experimenting—even a totalitarian party has to learn from practice — it can't take wisdom out of a bottle. So, they had that problem of learning how to work amongst the Negroes. That was one factor in their changes. But another more important factor which accounts both for some of their success and their failures is that the Communist Party in the United States can't push through a consistent policy on matters of strategy.

It can be consistent on the subject of general objective and doctrine, but on matters of strategy and tactics it has to accommodate itself to the changes that are imposed from Moscow, due to changes in Soviet foreign policy. So in 1925 when they created the first Negro front, which they called the American Negro Labor Congress, they aimed only to get at the northern Negro. They didn't yet—they hadn't invented the theory of racial nationalism. They wanted to get at the northern Negro — the Negro factory worker. So they named the organization accordingly, and they called it American Negro Labor Congress. Up to 1930, much of the literature that they published addressed to the Negro was issued under the auspices of the American Negro Labor Congress. If they had issued it in the name of the Communist Party, it wouldn't have been read — or if it had been read, would have been read by a very few. But if they issued it under the auspices of a Negro organization, well, that, of course, had a better reception.

Well, by 1930 they had already the new theory of racial nationalism; so they broadened their whole approach to the Negro and created a new organization which they called The League of Struggle for Negro Rights. That new front had already the racial nationalism as a strategic objective — that is, the creation of a Negro republic. But even that was sort of hard going, especially with these new theories.

So by 1936 — that's when the Trojan Horse got going in real earnest, of which I have spoken to you before. A condition was created where Hitler was considered the main menace, and Stalin hadn't been able to make a deal with him. So Stalin decided to court the democracies, to see whether he could get together with the democracies against the Nazis. And in order to do that, well, they had to drop some of the type of agitation and propaganda that was very irritating to the democracies, and the idea of a Negro republic down south was one of

the irritants. And, of course, another irritant was some of their other propaganda to the factory workers. So, in order to carry out the new policy of courting the democracies against Hitler, they created amongst the Negroes a type of front patterned to this new policy. They called that the National Negro Congress. Now to the National Negro Congress there were invited all other Negro organizations — the N.A.A.C.P., the Socialists, the Negro organization led by one Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters Brotherhood, and others — and they came together all in one convention and agreed to form a new type of Negro organization, which united all the existing Negro organizations in one combination without, however, each of the separate organizations dissolving themselves. But they came together into one coordinating body known as the National Negro Congress. Well, at that time, the administration in Washington was favorable to all this. It was a period where the Trojan Horse didn't have to be a Trojan any more. It had become a partner. It could move in, as it were, in full uniform — didn't have to do it at night any more.

So, the administration collaborated with all this idea of uniting against the Nazis with the Kremlin and its subsidiary organizations in the United States, and the various organizations in the United States were refashioned, remoulded to suit this new policy. Well, that's the time when the Communists made their biggest headway amongst the Negroes. It was the same time when the C. I. O. was created and, of course, the Communists moved into the C. I. O. in great style. I mean the newly created labor federation, the C. I. O., issued charters to Communist labor union groups that they knew were composed and led by Communists. Well, in the name of these newly chartered — newly issued national charters they, then, of course, got at the Negro in northern industry, and through the National Negro Congress they made some headway amongst Negroes also in the south. That was their front, during the period when Washington and Moscow were, as it were, setting up their first big flirtation with each other, and that's the time when they made the biggest progress, and got closer to the leadership of the other Negro organizations, and produced really their most extensive literature issued to the Negroes. The slogan of the Black Republic they just temporarily retired to the background. For the time being it wasn't mentioned. They concentrated on the other things of a tactical nature for the time being.

Q. What about the People's Institute of Applied Religion?

A. The People's Institute of Applied Religion was one of their most cunning devices to get at the south, especially at the Negro in the south. You see, all these things I have been telling you before about Communist fronts amongst the Negro—they all operated almost exclusively in the north amongst the northern Negroes. There was very little of that in the south, and the south to the Communists was always one of the most vexing problems. Moscow could never understand it. The south didn't behave according to Marx's theory — well, the economic level in the south was lower than in the north; workmen make

less; Negroes make less—according to Marx's theory, the south should be leading the United States in Communist development. Well, actually, it just didn't work out that way. It was just to the contrary. The south proved to be a hard nut, and it didn't conform to the doctrine.

So they tried out various methods of getting at the south and one of those — the most cunning one — was the Institute — the People's Institute of Applied Religion. They decided that the big block against the penetration of the south is religion. The Negroes believe in religion; the hillbillies believe in religion; nearly everybody is religious. The south is more religious than the north. Therefore, maybe they could get at them under the auspices of the Cross. Use religion as a cover to get there. As one of the leaders of that outfit, Claude Williams, Reverend, said, "Why use Marx to preach against Religion, when you could use Religion to justify Marx?" That is, they would take certain parts out of the Bible, where Christ chased the money changers out of the temple, and say, "Well, He was against capitalism." Where Christ advocated the worth of the individual and was against Roman slavery, they say, "Well, He was a revolutionary, He was against slavery, including wage slavery," and so on and so forth. Well, they began to interpret— use the Trojan Horse philosophically, as it were, and weave it into religion in order to get at the south. That was the idea of The People's Institute of Applied Religion.

It was a cunning idea, but, I don't know, somehow that one didn't work so well either.

Q. Was not the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the same category as the People's Institute of Applied Religion?

A. Well, it was in the same general direction of getting at the south by using the liberals in the south and those who are concerned about the racial problem. Get them into one combination and get at the south in the name of the south, as it were. Until then it was always some northern organization trying to operate in the south. Well, here they created a new approach of southerners operating upon the south, and that one, with the support of the administration, went along pretty well; and they had great hopes upon it until, well, the House Committee **(U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities)** got it into their heads to go and have a look at it. Then they (the **House Committee**) of course found what could have been found long before that, namely, that it was one of the most important strategic Communist operations intended to get at the south.

Q. You say it had the support of the administration. Actually, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was one of the leaders in the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, was she not?

A. She was. She was one of the principal leaders at the time, yes. So was former Senator Graham.

Q. That's Frank Graham from North Carolina?

A. That's right. He was the Chairman of it.

Q. Was the Sharecroppers' Union a Communist front or Communist-controlled organization? Are you familiar with that organization?

A. Yes, the Sharecroppers' Union was a Communist-controlled organization that tried to get at the southern Negro farmer in the name of the union, and, well, it worked for a while, but its another one of those things that worked for a while and somehow it didn't work for long.

Q. To what extent, if any, did the C.I.O. leaders support and give aid and comfort to this particular Communist tactic, infiltrating in the south and getting to the public?

A. Well, the C. I. O. leaders followed the leadership of the administration at the time. They did the same thing they — on the basis of this new policy of Russia supporting the democracies — they chartered and admitted into the C. I. O. about eleven national unions, all of which were from the very beginning Communist set-ups. Now, these unions, then, under the flag of unionism went after the Negroes. The largest of them was the United Electrical Radio Machine Workers, which controlled all the important electrical equipment plants in the United States. There were quite a number of Negroes in that industry and also in the other industries. That's the first time they really succeeded under the auspicies of the C. I. O. to get at the Negro workmen in the industrial field on a big scale. They (the Communists) had made various efforts in that direction before, but they didn't have near as much success as they had as a result of the C. I. O. taking the Communists in as partners. They (The C.I.O. leaders) were fully aware of it. I know Sidney Hillman was. He was quite familiar with Communist operations. And it lasted as long as the partnership with Moscow lasted in Washington. No LoC

Q. Now, during this period that we have been talking about, say from 1935 up until the time of the pact with Hitler and Stalin in 1939 — did the Communist Party change its attitude toward the N.A.A.C.P. during this particular period?

A. Well, they began to change their attitude toward the N.A.A.C.P. The N.A.A.C.P. had, of course, grown during this period. It couldn't be ignored any more, and furthermore, there was no reason to ignore it, because the impact of all that Communist agitation upon the Negro had infected the membership, and the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. by then. As I said, they — the N.A.A.C.P. leaders were there when the National Negro Congress was formed. The Communists began to pay more attention to the N.A.A.C.P. than they had before. They had won over one of its principal officials, W. E. B. DuBois, who was the Secretary and also the editor of the official organ of the N.A.A.C.P., The Crisis. He had become converted to Communism.

Q. Is that the same DuBois who is presently Honorary Charman of the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. The same one, yes. The same. He is an intellectual. He was at the founding of the N.A.A.C.P. — the only Negro on the Board of Directors.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

We will have a ten-minute recess so the Committee and others present can relax for a few minutes.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

The meeting of the Committee will come to order. At this moment I would like to announce that the meeting in the morning will begin at 9:00 A. M.

The Committee will expect to produce tomorrow witnesses who have been in actual charge of Communist work in the south on the Negro question. The General Counsel will proceed with examination of the witness.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, we have been talking here about a period from 1935 to 1939. Now, you were no longer in the party at that time. Is that correct?

A. That's correct, but I am very familiar with their operations.

Q. Do you mind telling the Committee how you continued your familiarity with the operations during this time?

A. Well, since I know their basic methods of operation, strategy and tactics and organization, it's relatively easy for me to follow what they do by reading publications, and by meeting party members who have quit them and who were leading members. Every once in a while whenever there is a new turn in party line somebody, as it were, drops off the wagon and rebels against the new turn. And I and others, eventually, manage to see them and find out what has been going on in the inside of their kitchen for the periods that they have been in.

Q. Now, we have some references to the C.I.O. and the fact that it chartered a number of known Communist unions. That was back during this period that we are speaking of—'35 to '39, was it not?

A. That's right.

Q. Since that time, isn't it true that they have made some rather extensive efforts to clean up and remedy this situation?

A. Oh, yes. Definitely so. I intended to cover that — to come to that in proper sequence of the testimony, but since you are asking the question now, yes, the whole thing has been reversed. As a matter of fact, the C. I. O. took the lead in cleaning up on the Communist-controlled unions, and they threw them all out, though the Communists still have some pockets here and there; but as far as the nationally chartered unions, they have been all excluded as being Communist-controlled unions, and as being unions not controlled by their members, and which do not follow the policies of the C I.O. but follow the policies as laid down by Moscow. On these two grounds they have been thrown out of the C.I.O. Some of them still exist with a great loss of membership. For instance, the United Electrical Radio Equipment Workers which under early C.I.O. had 800,000 members — they are reduced to about 100,000 now, and outside the C.I.O. And there is, of course, Bridges' Waterfront Union, which has not suffered as much as the others that were thrown out and still keeps a hold on a number of very important points. There is the Mine, Mill and Smelter which has lost, oh more than half its membership after they were thrown out of the C.I.O.

But, as a big force operating under the auspices of the C.I.O., no Communists can do that any more. The C.I.O. won't tolerate it.

Q. During this period, was there liaison between the N.A.A.C.P. and the Negro and other fronts of the Communist Party?

A. During what period?

Q. The period we are discussing, 1935 to 1939.

A. Oh, yes, of course, indeed. As I said, the National Negro Congress was a joint enterprise in which the Negro organizations participated. Of course, that came to a stop during 1939 and '41 during the Nazi-Soviet Pact. And since Moscow then started to play the old game against the democracies, and allied itself with Nazi Germany, the whole policy of courting the democracies was, of course, abandoned and they went back to hostilizing the democracies. In the Negro field they revised the slogan of a Negro republic in the south. Their propaganda called the war between democracies and Nazi Germany a "white man's war," and the Negroes shouldn't be cannon fodder for the white man and so on and so forth. So the kind of combinations as were represented by the National Negro Congress, and some of the other fronts, sort of went to pieces during that period. They didn't go completely to pieces, because the alliance with Hitler didn't last long enough. But the party was on the way then to reorientating its policy and creating new fronts designed on the basis of the new alliance. But before those fronts really—a new type of front—got going, Hitler attacked Russia and, well, the old marriage came together again, of the democracies becoming allies with Soviet Russia, and the Trojan Horse became a partner again.

Q. Now, during this time that you are speaking of, in what way did this manifest itself with special reference to the Negroes? What way did the Communist Party's change of line during this particular period manifest itself with regard to the Negroes?

A. Do you mean during the Nazi-Soviet Pact or after?

Q. The period before and during and after.

A. Well, as I already explained, before the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the Kremlin was courting the democracies, and there was a liaison between the democracies and the Kremlin, and that held good, also, on the domestic front — by the Communist controlled organizations sort of dousing propaganda and agitation and becoming more friendly. This so-called United Front period, or "popular front," began to break up as soon as Hitler and Stalin became friends.

Q. Well, now what happened after June, 1941 when Hitler broke his alliance with Stalin and invaded Russia?

A. Well, then, the old line came back on the double, of courting the democracies and, in fact, the Communists then went even further. They became super patriots, but not for the United States, for Soviet Russia. And the United States wasn't doing things fast enough to defeat Hitler. They suppressed strikes. Even unions who had grievances and otherwise would have gone out on strike — the Communist leadership discouraged strikes. The whole incitement amongst

the Negro subsided completely and, on the contrary they wanted the Negro to become a good patriot for the war effort. That is the whole thing in reverse, not for the sake of the United States, of course, but in order to save Soviet Russia from defeat. They pressured the United States to greater efforts, and discouraged all agitation of organizations that would obstruct such an effort. During that period they became even more associated with other Negro organizations like the N.A.A.C.P., and the same thing took place amongst the whites. They became the most consistent, for that period, supporters of the war effort. And, of course, they infiltrated everywhere as a result of it, having in mind the after-the-war period, but during the war period they collaborated with the administration — they collaborated with the union leadership — the conservative elements amongst the union leadership and, well, they just merely collaborated, period!

Q. Well, what effect did this have on the Communist Party policy among the Negroes?

A. Well, they — the N.A.A.C.P. and the National Negro Congress became more friendly than ever. The N.A.A.C.P. allowed Communist authors to write articles in **The Crisis**. They recommended Communist authored books in their book recommendations section. The leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. then joined various Negro fronts of the Communist Party and other fronts of the Communist Party operating in other fields. It was, well, a sort of honeymoon situation of which, of course, the Communists, who had always ulterior motives, took full advantage.

Q. In other words, there was no need for the tricky infiltration you spoke of in connection with the Trojan Horse matter. The welcome mat was out for them, and they were welcomed instead of having to sneak in. Is that right?

A. That's right. That's exactly right.

Q. Would you say that was the high point of Communist infiltration, both ideologically and organizationally, into all of these various organizations?

A. That was the high point of their infiltration, ideological and organizational, especially organizational. The gates were simply opened for them and not only in reference to labor unions and other social organizations, but the gates were opened to them into the United States Government. That's when the big infiltration took place into the United States Government and its various agencies.

Q. What effect did this partnership with Communism have on the Negro Colleges and the Negro press in general?

A. Well, of course, that was the time when they infiltrated the Negro colleges. In fact, that was the time when they infiltrated all colleges. (**more successfully**), including the Negro colleges. That was the time when they made the biggest headway amongst the sociological intelligentsia and the professors and teachers who teach economics, and sociology, and government, and history, and so on and so forth. It

seems that the intellectuals had during that time shown a remarkable weakness. They were bigger suckers for the Communist propaganda than many others were, apparently because they sort of led a life apart from the daily troubles and toil of the population. They were the ivory tower boys, who picked up the theories of the Communists, not looking at what is behind the theories. And that applied, of course, to the Negro colleges also. I may, perhaps, at this time, if it's all right with you, give you an indication of the import of that infiltration in, let's say into the N.A.A.C.P., during that particular period. Most of those that I can mention here. I only have a few.

Q. Let me preface that. You have done a particular study of this subject with regard to the N.A.A.C.P., have you not?

A. I have.

Q. You have in your files information, is that right?

A. That's correct.

Q. Is that what you propose to offer at this time for the Committee?

A. Just in order to illustrate the point of infiltration into this particular organization during that time. Is that all right?

Q. That's fine if you wish to go ahead.

A. Well, I have here—

Q. Excuse me. Well, after this. But please identify each one as you place an exhibit in evidence.

A. I have here the record of affiliation with — sponsorship association with — Communist fronts of a number of N.A.A.C.P. leaders. I only have those who have more than ten affiliations to their credit. I don't mention the others, figuring that an individual who has ten affiliations should know that he was affiliated with something. So here you have the Chairman of the Board of the N.A.A.C.P., Channing H. Tobias. He has to his credit forty-two fronts. Amongst them there are eight Negro fronts. When I say Negro fronts, I mean fronts created by the Communist Party for operation amongst Negroes. I may say at this point that he is one of the few of the N.A.A.C.P. leaders who admitted on record that he was taken for a ride by the Communists, and that he is fully clear of their treachery and deception and stated that as a reason for disassociating himself with those fronts. But I mean he must have been taken in quite a bit by their propaganda in order to join forty-two fronts, and amongst them eight fronts in the field that he would be especially associated with, that is, activities amongst Negroes. Now, I am not going to read all the names of these fronts because—

Q. Do you want to offer that document in evidence?

A. I do.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I am going to mark this document WK-1 and offer it in evidence to this Committee. (See pages 48, 49, 50)

42. [redacted] Fronts — Member, Sponsor, or Associate —.

8. Negro

February 1957

WK-1

Channing H. Tobias, Chairman of the Board, NAACP:

(1) All-Harlem Youth Conference — endorser -- Daily Worker, May 12, 1938

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor — official program, April 17, 1943

(3) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief -- sponsor -- letterhead, July 23, 1948

(4) American League for Peace and Democracy -- member of executive board -- letterhead, June 12, 1939

(5) American Round Table on India -- member -- letterhead, circa 1941

(6) American Slav Congress — speaker at meeting co-sponsored by American Slav Congress -- Daily Worker, December 27, 1944, page 2

(7) American Society for Russian Relief -- member of executive committee — letterhead, April 12, 1946

[redacted]

(9) CIO Community Conference in Harlem — speaker for -- Daily Worker, March 26, 1943, page 6

(10) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity — initiator and chairman of executive committee — booklet, September 25, 1943

(11) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense — speaker for — Worker, December 31, 1944, page 7

(12) Communist Rand Rally — speaker at — Worker, December 31, 1944, page 10

(13) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America -- sponsor — official program, June 7-9, 1939

(14) Conference on Puerto Rico's Right to Freedom -- sponsor -- official program, January 5, 1946

(15) Council on African Affairs — one of founders of — New York Herald Tribune, April 6, 1948

(Exhibit WK-1a)

Channing H. Tobias -- 2

(16) Council for Pan American Democracy -- signer of open letter appealing for freedom for political prisoners -- press release, June 8, 1945

(17) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, August 6, 1945

(18) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- attended meeting of Independent Voters Committee, September 21, 1944 -- Communist Activities Among Aliens and National Groups, page 592

(19) International Committee on African Affairs -- member -- letterhead, undated

(20) Nation Associates -- sponsor of dinner -- program December 3, 1945

(21) National Citizens Emergency Relief Committee -- member of national board -- Worker, March 17, 1946, page 5

(22) National Citizens Political Action Committee -- vice-chairman -- "Political Guide," NC-PAC, June 26-29, 1946

(23) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax -- sponsor -- letterhead, March 8, 1946

(24) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- signer of open letter -- Soviet Russia Today, June 1943, page 2

(25) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of statement opposing renewal of the Dies Committee -- pamphlet, January 1943

(26) National Mobilization -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, March 5, 1946, page 3

(27) National Scottsboro Action Committee -- member of executive committee -- Daily Worker, May 3, 1933, page 2

(28) Negro History Week -- speaker -- Daily Worker, February 7, 1943, page 5

(29) New York Citizens Emergency Committee -- member -- letterhead, March 1946

(30) New York Committee for Justice in Freeport -- honorary chairman -- letterhead, February 21, 1947

(Exhibit WK-1b)

Channing H. Tobias — 3

(31) New York Conference on National Unity — member — official program, December 6, 1941

(32) North Shore Interracial and Interfaith Committee of Queens — speaker for — Daily Worker, October 4, 1944, page 3

(33) People's Committee — speaker for — Daily Worker, April 1, 1943, page 4

(34) People's Voice — member of reception committee — leaflet, May 1946

(35) People's Institute of Applied Religion — sponsor — letterhead, April 9, 1942

(36) Protestant — editorial advisor — Protestant, August-September 1946

(37) Protestant Digest — editorial advisor — letterhead, October 7, 1941

(38) Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, an auxiliary of American League for Peace and Democracy — sponsor — letterhead, August 3, 1939

(39) Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee — speaker for — New Masses, December 21, 1943, page 31

(40) Southern Conference for Human Welfare — co-chairman — news release, December 10, 1946

(42) Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith — sponsor — program, September 20, 1944

(42) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade — speaker at meeting co-sponsored by VALB — Daily Worker, December 27, 1944, page 2

(43) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade — sponsored and supported statement calling for break with Franco Spain — New York Times, March 3, 1945

(44) Win-the-Peace Conference — sponsor — program, April 5-7, 1946

(Exhibit WK-1c)

A. Now, another important leader on the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. is the former First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt. She has to her credit thirty-two fronts, rather thirty-three, of which she has been either a member or a sponsor or an associate. Four of these fronts were fronts of the Communist Party operating amongst the Negroes.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask that this be introduced in evidence and marked WK-2. (See pages 52, 53, 54 also)

33 Front - Sponsor, Member or Associate
4 Negro

W-K-2

February 1957

Eleanor Roosevelt, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) All-Harlem Youth Conference -- sent greetings -- Daily Worker, May 12, 1938

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, October 21, 1941, page 4

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of dinner -- program, October 27, 1946

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter -- folder, 1947

(5) American Committee for Spanish Freedom -- sent message to -- Daily Worker, November 23, 1945, page 8

(6) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief -- made cash contribution to -- Headlines of ACYR, July 1945, page 1

(7) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief -- accepts honorary chairmanship -- Daily Worker, December 21, 1945, page 3

(8) American Committee for Yugoslav Relief -- honorary chairman -- letterhead, July 23, 1948

(9) American Communications Association -- speaker at annual convention -- Baltimore Evening Sun, April 16, 1940, page 8

(10) American Federation of Teachers, Local #5 -- received annual award -- Daily Worker, April 23, 1939

(11) American League for Peace and Democracy -- sent donation to China Aid Council -- Daily Worker, March 21, 1938

(12) American Relief for Greek Democracy -- honorary chairman -- letterhead, November 19, 1946

(13) American Student Union -- entertained leader, Joseph P. Lash, at White House, November 30, 1939 -- Times-Herald, Dec. 1

(14) American Youth Congress -- sent letter of greetings to Milwaukee -- official program, July 2-5, 1937

(15) American Youth Congress -- speaker at City College -- Daily Worker, January 29, 1938

(Exhibit WK-2a)

Eleanor Roosevelt -- 2

(16) American Youth Congress -- speaker at New York dinner -- Evening Star, March 1, 1939

(17) American Youth Congress -- speaker, New York -- program, July 9, 1939

(18) American Youth Congress -- defender of AYC before Council of Southern Women -- Evening Star, January 26, 1940, page 4

(19) American Youth Congress -- invited Congressmen to White House to meet AYC leaders -- Washington Post, February 7, 1940, pages 1, 7

(20) American Youth Congress -- speaker, Monday Evening Club -- program, February 13, 1940

(21) American Youth Congress -- speaker, Chicago -- program, April 13, 1940

(22) American Youth Congress -- defended -- Liberty Magazine, April 20, 1940

(23) China Aid Council -- sponsor -- undated letter

(24) Christmas Amnesty Plea for Communists Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer of petition to President Eisenhower urging commutation of sentences and postponement of trials -- New York Times, December 21, 1955, page 20

(25) Daughters of the American Depression -- sponsor -- New York Times, May 13, 1940

(26) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee -- sponsor -- news release, July 30, 1945

(27) Foster Parents Plan for Spanish Children -- supporter -- Direction, October 1939

(28) Induseo -- member of advisory board -- letterhead, April 1951

(29) Jewish Black Book Committee -- sponsor -- undated pamphlet

(30) League of Women Shoppers -- speaker, New York -- Daily Worker, December 9, 1936

(31) Metropolitan Music School -- advisory council member -- catalog, 1953-54

(32) Metropolitan Music School -- advisory council member -- catalog, 1954-55

(Exhibit WK-2b)

Eleanor Roosevelt — 3

(33) Motion Picture Artists Committee — sent donation — Daily Worker, March 21, 1938

(34) National Citizens' Emergency Relief Committee to Aid Strikers' Families — member of national board — Worker, March 17, 1946, page 5

(35) National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax — sponsor — letterhead, March 8, 1946

(36) National Conference on the German Problem — sponsor — official release, March 6, 1947

(37) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship — sent greetings — Worker, November 19, 1944, page 2

(38) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship — sent greetings to rally — Daily Worker, November 15, 1945, page 3

(39) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Committee of Women — sent greetings to Soviet women on International Women's Day — Daily Worker, March 4, 1946, page 8

(40) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship — member of Committee of Women — press release, March 13, 1947

(41) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights — endorser of statement — folder, 1940

(42) National Negro Congress — speaker at Philadelphia gathering — Daily Worker, February 12, 1938

(43) National Right-to-Work Congress — speaker — program, June 3, 1939

(44) People's Front for Peace — sent greetings — Daily Worker, August 30, 1937, page 2

(45) Protestant Digest — writer of statement — letterhead, December 27, 1939

(46) Russian War Relief — sent telegram of greeting — Soviet Russia Today, December 1941, page 20

(47) Southern Conference Educational Fund — signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF — dated June 10, 1954

(48) Southern Conference for Human Welfare — speaker — program, November 20-23, 1938

(Exhibit WK-2c)

Eleanor Roosevelt -- 4

(49) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- speaker at convention in Chattanooga -- program, April 16, 1940

(50) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- consultant -- official report, 1942

(51) Southern Negro Youth Congress -- speaker -- April 28, 1939

(52) Soviet Russia Today -- contributor -- Soviet Russia Today, June 1942, page 6

(53) United American Spanish Aid Committee -- supporter -- Appendix IX, page 1008

(54) United States Arrangements Committee, World Youth Conference -- honorary patron -- letterhead, July 1945

(55) United Student Peace Committee -- endorser of "peace strike" -- Daily Worker, April 20, 1939

(56) Workers Alliance -- speaker at convention, Washington, D. C. -- New York Sun, June 7, 1939, page 1

(57) World Youth Congress -- speaker at opening session -- Vassar College, August 16, 1938

(Exhibit WK-2d)

A. Then you have W. J. Walls, Vice-President of the N.A.A.C.P. He has to his credit the same way, thirty-fronts, four of them Communist fronts operating amongst the Negroes.

MR. SHAW: I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-3. (See pages 55, 56, 57)

A. Then you have William Lloyd Imes, another Vice-President of the N.A.A.C.P. He has, in the same way, to his credit twenty-eight fronts, one of which is a front, namely, the National Negro Congress, operating amongst the Negroes.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-4. (See pages 58, 59)

A. Then you have on the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. Algernon D. Black who has to his credit, in the same way, sixty fronts. Three of these sixty are Communist Party fronts operating amongst the Negroes.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-5 for identification. (See pages 60, 61, 62, 63)

A. Another member of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., Hubert T. Delaney. He has to his credit fourteen fronts, five of which are Communist Party fronts amongst the Negroes. He has the least — only fourteen.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-6 for identification. (See pages 64, 65)

30 Francs
4 August

WK-3

February 1957

W. J. Wells, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) African Aid Committee — sponsor -- letterhead, May 28, 1949

(2) African Aid Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 20, 1950

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- letterhead, October 1955

(4) American Crusade to End Lynching -- signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington, D.C. -- dated September 23, 1946

(5) American Round Table on India -- member -- letterhead, 1941

(6) American Round Table on India -- member -- Daily Worker, November 4, 1942, page 2

(7) American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Second World Peace Congress -- member -- Daily Worker, November 9, 1950, page 2

(8) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer -- Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4

(9) Bill of Rights Conference -- sponsor -- program, July 16-17, 1949

(10) Committee for a Free Political Advocacy -- honorary chairman -- letterhead, March 30, 1950

(11) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives -- signer of petition to outlaw H-bomb -- Daily Worker, April 17, 1950, page 3

(12) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- initiator of statement to President Truman -- Daily Worker, December 14, 1949, page 5

(13) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- initiator -- Worker, August 21, 1949, page 11

(14) DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee -- honorary chairman -- program, February 23, 1951

(15) Fraternal Council of Churches in America -- signer of statement urging rejection of Atlantic Pact -- Daily Worker, June 28, 1949, page 2

(Exhibit WK-3a)

W. J. Walls -- 2

(16) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- initiator of call and sponsor -- Daily Worker, April 7, 1950, page 3

(17) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- member of program committee and chairman of keynote session -- call, May 29-30, 1950

(18) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- honorary chairman -- letterhead, June 19, 1950

(19) Nation Associates -- sponsor of dinner-forum -- program, May 25, 1952

(20) National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership -- honored by -- leaflet, January 11, 1953

(21) National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives -- honorary chairman -- folder, 1950

(22) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- initiator of open letter to members of Congress on the McCarran Internal Security Act -- dated January 19, 1951

(23) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of petition -- dated June 22, 1951

(24) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims -- appealed for amnesty -- leaflet, May 22, 1953

(25) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor of congress -- Soviet Russia Today, December 1942, page 42

(26) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor of congress -- leaflet, November 6-8, 1943

(27) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship - sponsor of U.S.-Soviet Friendship Celebrations -- Worker, November 12, 1944, page 8, magazine section

(28) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 19, 1945

(29) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 7, 1948

(30) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor -- letterhead, October 26, 1949

(31) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor of the Waldorf Conference -- leaflet, March 1949

(Exhibit WK-3b)

W. J. Wells — 3

(32) National Negro Congress -- endorser — call, February 14, 1936

(33) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF -- dated June 10, 1954

(34) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- sponsor — folder, May 17, 1955

(35) U.S.-Soviet Friendship Congress -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, September 29, 1943, page 5

(36) Washington Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact — organizer of — Worker, July 24, 1949, page 11

(37) Wire to President Truman to Veto McCarran Bill -- initiator — Worker; September 17, 1950, page 3

(38) World Peace Appeal — signer — Daily Worker, August 14, 1950, page 2

(Exhibit WK-3c)

A. Another member of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., Earl B. Dickerson. He has to his credit in the same way, sixty fronts; ten of these sixty are Communist fronts amongst the Negroes.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-7 for identification. (See pages 65, 66, 67, 68)

A. Another Vice-President of the N.A.A.C.P., Oscar Hammerstein II, has to his credit, in the same way, twenty-five fronts, four of which are Communist fronts amongst Negroes.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-8 for identification. (See pages 69, 70)

A. Another member of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., S. Ralph Harlow — to his credit, in the same way, twenty-three fronts, and although he is a member of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., he has no Negro front.

MR. SHAW: I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-9 for identification. (See pages 71, 72)

A. Another member of the Board of Directors, N.A.A.C.P., Benjamin E. Mays. He has to his credit the same way, twenty-five fronts of which seven were Communist Party fronts operating amongst the Negroes.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-10 for identification. (See pages 73, 74)

28 Exhibits
1 Magnet

WK-4

February 1957

William Lloyd Imes, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom -- signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee -- dated January 17, 1940

(2) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom -- sponsor of rally -- folder, April 13, 1940

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of fourth annual conference -- letterhead, March 2-3, 1940

(4) American Congress for Peace and Democracy -- endorser -- leaflet, January 6-8, 1939

(5) American Friends of the Chinese People -- sponsor of meeting -- Daily Worker, September 24, 1937, page 6

(6) American League for Peace and Democracy -- sponsor of conference -- Daily Worker, January 11, 1938, page 2

(7) American League for Peace and Democracy -- signer of statement for international cooperation -- New Masses, March 15, 1938, page 19

(8) American League for Peace and Democracy -- member of advisory board -- letterhead, March 21, 1939

(9) American League for Peace and Democracy, Baltimore Division -- member of national committee -- letterhead, May 18, 1939

(10) American League against War and Fascism - contributor to Fight -- Fight, August 1936, page 4

(11) American League against War and Fascism -- signer of statement -- Daily Worker, February 27, 1937, page 2

(12) American League against War and Fascism -- endorser of parade -- Daily Worker, July 26, 1937, page 5

(13) American League against War and Fascism -- sponsor of meeting -- Daily Worker, September 24, 1937, page 6

(14) American League against War and Fascism -- member of national executive committee -- letterhead, November 3, 1937

(15) China Aid Council -- sponsor -- letterhead, June 11, 1938

(16) China Aid Council -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 9, 1941

(Exhibit WK-4a)

William Lloyd Imes --

(17) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America -- sponsor -- program, June 7-9, 1940

(18) Conference on Pan American Democracy -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 16, 1938

(19) Consumers National Federation -- sponsor -- program, December 11-12, 1937

(20) Council on African Affairs -- endorser of program New Africa, October 1945

(21) Emergency Peace Mobilization Committee of Greater New York -- sponsor -- letterhead, undated

(22) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights -- sponsor -- program, February 12, 1940

(23) Harlem Coordinating Committee for Employment -- affiliated with -- Daily Worker, May 23, 1938, page 5

(24) International Labor Defense -- sent greetings to national conference -- Equal Justice, July 1939, pages 2-5

(25) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer -- Daily Worker, September 24, 1940, page 1

(26) National People's Committee Against Hearst (of American League Against War and Fascism) -- member -- letterhead, March 16, 1937

(27) New Masses Letter to the President -- signer of letter in defense of Communists -- New Masses, April 2, 1940

(28) New York Peace Association -- sponsor of mass meeting -- leaflet, June 13, 1940

(29) Open Letter Protesting Attacks on Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade -- signer -- Daily Worker, February 21, 1940

(30) Protestant Digest Associates -- sponsor of call to dinner-forum -- leaflet, February 25, 1941

(31) Statement attacking Investigations of Communists -- signer -- Equality, January 1940, pages 24-25

(Exhibit WK-4b)

60 Front sponsor, ... — ... 2
3 sept

WK

February 1957

Algernon D. Black, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of telegram -- Daily Worker, August 2, 1949, page 8

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter -- Daily Worker, August 10, 1950, page 5

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, April 4, 1951, page 8

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of 20th anniversary national conference -- letterhead, October 22, 1951

(5) American Committee to Save Refugees -- sponsor -- program, October 9, 1941

(6) American Committee for Spanish Freedom -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 7, 1946.

(7) American Committee for Spanish Freedom -- sponsor, Action Committee to Free Spain Now -- letterhead, March 15, 1946

(8) American Friends of Spanish Democracy -- member of committee -- letterhead, February 21, 1938

(9) American Russian Institute -- sponsor -- dinner program, October 19, 1943

(10) American Russian Institute -- endorser of campaign -- folder, 1945

(11) American Russian Institute -- member of Inter-Church Committee of -- letterhead, May 8, 1947

(12) American Student Union -- member of advisory board -- pamphlet, 1938

(13) American Youth Congress -- endorser of American Youth Act -- undated-press release

(14) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer -- Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4

(15) Associated Film Audiences -- member of executive board -- undated letterhead

(16) Citizens Committee to Defend Labor -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, May 3, 1947, page 3

(Exhibit WK-5a)

Algernon D. Black -- 2

(17) Citizens Committee to End Discrimination in Baseball -- member -- Daily Worker, October 14, 1942, page 6

(18) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity -- member of executive committee -- folder, September 25, 1943

(19) Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges -- sponsor -- letterhead, June 8, 1943

(20) City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem -- co-chairman -- Daily Worker, November 29, 1943

(21) Committee to Aid the Striking Fleischer Artists -- member -- letterhead, 1938

(22) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy -- sponsor -- program, January 23-25, 1948

(23) Committee of One Thousand -- signer of open letter urging abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee -- Daily Worker, January 3, 1949, page 7

(24) Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson -- member -- Daily Worker, September 22, 1948, page 5

(25) Conference Against Mundt and Ferguson Bills -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, June 1, 1949, page 6

(26) Conference on Pan American Democracy -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 16, 1938

(27) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of open letter to Congress -- dated August 21, 1949

(28) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, an auxiliary of North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy -- representative individual -- folder, 1937

(29) Council on African Affairs, endorser of program -- New Africa, October 1945

(30) Dinner to Wallace -- sponsor -- program, September 12, 1949

(31) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, August 6, 1945

(32) Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers -- sponsor -- program, October 9, 1941

(Exhibit WK-5b)

Algernon D. Black -- 3

(33) Far East Spotlight -- favored recognition of New China -- Far East Spotlight, December 1949-January 1950, page 25

(34) Film Audiences for Democracy -- member of executive committee -- undated letterhead

(35) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights -- vice-chairman of executive committee -- program, February 12, 1940

(36) International Workers Order -- defender of -- Fraternal Outlook, November 1948, page 6

(37) League of American Writers -- contributor of chapter to book -- March 1939

(38) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- sponsor -- call, May 29-30, 1950

(39) Nation Associates -- sponsor -- program, October 31, 1947

(40) Nation Associates -- sponsor -- program of dinner-forum, May 25, 1952

(41) National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill -- sponsor -- HCUA Report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, p. 11

(42) National Conference on the German Problem -- sponsor -- official release, March 6, 1947

(43) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- signer of statement calling for peaceful settlement of U.S.-U.S.S.R. differences -- dated June 23, 1948

(44) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- signer of call -- Soviet Russia Today, July 1948, page 5

(45) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor -- leaflet, March 1949

(46) National Emergency Conference -- signer of call -- program, May 13-14, 1939

(47) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of open letter asking the President to rescind Biddle decision on Harry Bridges -- booklet, July 11, 1942

(Exhibit WK-5e)

Algernon D. Black -- 4

(48) Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio -- member -- letterhead, October 3, 1936

(49) Progressive Citizens of America -- vice-chairman of New York State Chapter -- folder, April 12, 1947

(50) Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee -- signer of declaration -- New York Times, December 22, 1943

(51) Russian War Relief -- member of religious committee -- letterhead, 1943

(52) Save the Voice of Freedom Committee -- associate chairman -- undated folder

(53) Statement to J. Howard McGrath asking Dismissal of Contempt Citations -- signer -- Daily Worker, February 19, 1951, page 9

(54) Statement Against U.S. Policy in Mexico -- signer -- Daily Worker, May 6, 1940

(55) United American Spanish Aid Committee -- sponsor -- program, October 9, 1941

(56) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade -- signer of open letter to President Roosevelt -- Daily Worker, March 4, 1943, page 4

(57) Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade -- sponsor of Action Committee to Free Spain Now -- letterhead, March 15, 1946

(58) Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York -- public sponsor -- letterhead, May 13, 1946

(59) Veterans Committee Against Discrimination -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 24, 1946

(60) Voice of Freedom -- sponsor -- letterhead, April 12, 1951

(61) Wartime Budget Conference -- sponsor -- program, April 11, 1944

(Exhibit WK-5d)

14 Fronts
5 Pages

WK-6

February 1957

Hubert T. Delany, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) All-Harlem Youth Conference -- sponsor -- program, May 12-14, 1938

(2) Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity -- delegate and member of executive committee -- booklet, September 25, 1943, page 5

(3) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee -- supporter -- New York Times, March 14, 1946

(4) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo -- representative individual -- booklet, 1937

(5) Council on African Affairs -- member -- New Africa December 1943

(6) Council Against Intolerance in America -- member - letterhead, October 1952

(7) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee -- speaker -- program, January 30-31, 1953

(8) George Washington Carver School -- member of board of directors -- catalog, 1947

(9) Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain -- member -- letterhead, March 5, 1938

(10) National Lawyers Guild -- presided at annual convention -- Daily Worker, May 8, 1950, page 3

(11) National Lawyers Guild -- elected vice-pres.of N.Y.Chapter -- Daily Worker, June 20, 1952, page 8

(12) National Lawyers Guild -- presided at conference -- Daily Worker, October 7, 1952, page 4

(13) National Lawyers Guild -- vice-president of New York City Chapter -- news release, May 25, 1953

(14) National Lawyers Guild -- vice-president of New York City Chapter -- New York Times, May 24, 1954, page 29

(15) People's Institute of Harlem -- attended dinner of -- Worker, March 7, 1943, page 3

(16) People's Voice -- master of ceremonies at reception -- leaflet, May 14, 1946

(Exhibit WK-6a)

Hubert T. Delany -- 2

✓ (17) Testimonial Dinner Honoring Ferdinand C. Smith -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, September 11, 1944, page 2

✓ (18) United Front for Herndon, an adjunct of International Labor Defense -- signer of petition -- Labor Defender, October 1935

(Exhibit WK-6b)

60 names
10 Negro

WK7

February 1957

Earl B. Dickerson, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) Abraham Lincoln School -- member of board of directors -- catalog for Fall session of 1943

✓ (2) African Aid Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 28, 1949

(3) African Aid Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 20, 1950

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of Cleveland Conference -- official program, 1947

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter -- Lamp, May 1940, page 4

(6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- Doyle pamphlet, November 1, 1949

(7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- letterhead, September 22, 1950

(8) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights -- letterhead, October 10, 1950

(9) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- letterhead, February 1951

(10) American Continental Congress for World Peace -- sponsor and endorser -- Daily Worker, July 29, 1949, page 5

(11) American Peace Crusade -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 26, 1951

(12) American Youth Congress -- sponsor -- official program, Chicago, May 25-26, 1940

(13) Appeal for amnesty for the jailed leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act -- signer -- Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4

(14) Appeal to Greek Government protesting trial of Greek maritime unionists -- signer -- Daily Worker, August 19, 1952, page 1

(15) Arts, Sciences & Professions Council of Southern California -- participated in conference -- Daily Worker, June 20, 1952, page 7

(16) Bill of Rights Conference -- initiating sponsor -- official call, July 16-17, 1949

(17) Chicago Civil Liberties Committee -- member of advisory board -- letterhead, March 10, 1947

✓ (18) Chicago Conference on Race Relations -- chairman of sponsoring committee -- program, July 22, 1939

(Exhibit WK-7a)

Earl B. Dickerson -- 2

(19) Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor -- letterhead, June 10, 1943

(20) Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor -- letterhead, February 22, 1944

(21) Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 24, 1948

(22) Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder -- supporter -- People's Voice, March 21, 1942

(23) Civil Rights Congress -- signer of statement in defense of Eisler -- Daily Worker, February 28, 1947, page 2

(24) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor -- sponsor -- booklet, 1945, page 12

(25) Committee for a Free Political Advocacy -- signer of statement -- press release, February 11, 1949

(26) Committee for a Free Political Advocacy -- sponsor -- New Republic, March 29, 1949, page 32

(27) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of statement -- Daily Worker, December 14, 1949, page 8

(28) Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America -- speaker -- official program, June 7-9, 1940

(29) Congress of American-Soviet Friendship -- endorser -- Soviet Russia Today, December 1942, page 42

(30) Congress on Civil Rights -- sponsor -- official program, April 27-28, 1946

(31) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of open letter to Congress -- dated August 21, 1949

(32) Council on African Affairs -- member -- New Africa, December 1943, page 4

(33) Council on African Affairs -- member -- proceedings of conference, April 14, 1944, page 36

(34) Council on African Affairs -- endorser of program -- New Africa, October 1945

(35) Dinner in Honor of Pearl Hart -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, April 6, 1950, page 4

(36) DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee -- sponsor -- official program, February 23, 1951

(37) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee -- sponsor -- program, January 30-31, 1953

(Exhibit WK-7b)

Earl B. Dickerson --

(38) Emergency Conference on China and Saving Peace -- sponsor -- official program, November 11, 1950

(39) Friends of the New Masses in Chicago -- sponsor -- leaflet, April 23, 1944

(40) International Labor Defense -- member of national committee -- program, October 1943

(41) Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee -- signer of letter -- Daily Worker, April 29, 1949, page 2

(42) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- sponsor -- Worker, April 30, 1950, page 15

(43) National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill -- sponsor -- pamphlet, April 1950

(44) National Conference on Civil Rights Legislation and Discrimination -- participant -- Daily Worker, October 7, 1952, page 4

(45) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor -- leaflet, November 7-8, 1942

(46) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor of Waldorf-Astoria Conference official program, March 25-29, 1949

(47) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- signer of statement demanding the quashing of the indictment against W. E. B. DuBois -- Daily Worker, June 29, 1951, page 5

(48) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- endorser of resolution on Tunisia -- Daily Worker, June 2, 1952, page 3

(49) National Free Browder Congress -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, March 3, 1942, page 3

(50) National Lawyers Guild, -- president -- Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4

(51) National Negro Congress -- sponsor -- program, May 30-June 2, 1946

(52) National Wallace-for-President Committee -- member -- press release, March 23, 1948

(53) Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy -- signer of statement -- Daily Worker, February 8, 1939, page 2

(54) Negro People's Committee for Peace and Freedom -- sponsor -- leaflet, June 29, 1951

(55) Negroes for Wallace -- member -- Daily Worker, October 21, 1948, page 4

(Exhibit WK-7c)

Earl B. Dickerson -- 4

(56) Open Letter to President Truman Asking Clemency for the Rosenbergs -- signer -- Daily Worker, December 25, 1952, page 8

(57) Progressive Party -- co-chairman of platform committee -- Daily Worker, June 10, 1952, page 2

(58) Progressive Party of Illinois -- vice-chairman -- Daily Worker, April 18, 1950, page 9

(59) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF -- dated June 10, 1954

(60) Spanish Refugee Appeal -- sponsor -- leaflet, 1945

(61) U. S.-Soviet Friendship Congress -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, September 29, 1943, page 5

(62) Win-the-Peace Conference -- sponsor -- official program, April 5-7, 1946

(63) China Conference Arrangements Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 6, 1946

(64) Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee -- supporter -- New York Times, March 14, 1946

(65) Committee to End Sedition Laws -- signer of statement -- press release, November 19, 1955

(66) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy -- sponsor of conference on China and the Far East -- call, October 18-20, 1946

(67) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee -- member of national council -- letterhead, September 30, 1954

(68) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee -- member of national council -- letterhead, January 26, 1955

(69) Emergency Civil Liberties Committee -- member of national council -- letterhead, March 14, 1956

(70) National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims -- name used by -- leaflet, May 22, 1953

(71) National Committee to Win the Peace -- sponsor of conference on China and the Far East -- call, October 18-20, 1946

(72) Stop Film Censorship Committee -- endorser of statement -- Daily Worker, January 21, 1942, page 7

(Exhibit WK-7d)

25 Exhibits of Hearings

WK 8

February 1957

Oscar Hammerstein, II, Vice-President, NAACP:

(1) All-Arts Action Meeting -- member of sponsoring committee -- New York Times, February 25, 1948

(2) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense -- sponsor -- booklet, August 1945, p. 14

(3) Committee for the First Amendment -- initiator of support for the Hollywood 10 -- 1948 California Report. pages 240-241

✓ (4) Committee for the Negro in the Arts -- sponsor -- New York Daily Compass, September 7, 1950, page 18

✓ (5) Conference to End Discrimination in Levittown -- sponsor -- Worker, June 10, 1951, page 3

(6) End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, August 6, 1945

(7) Hollywood Anti-Nazi League -- worked with -- Daily Worker, March 24, 1943, page 7

(8) Hollywood Democratic Committee -- sponsor -- official leaflet of Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, page 3

(9) Hollywood League for Democratic Action -- sponsor -- 1948 California Report, page 256

(10) Hollywood Writers Mobilization -- speaker -- official program, Writers Congress, October 1943

(11) Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- initiating sponsor -- Worker, December 24, 1944, page 14

(12) Labor's Anti-Hitler Committee -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, October 23, 1941, page 4

✓ (13) Letter to The Nation on the Peekskill Riot and in Behalf of Paul Robeson -- signer -- Nation, September 17, 1949

(14) National Mobilization Committee -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, March 5, 1946, page 3

(15) National Reception Committee of the Soviet Delegation -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, September 17, 1943, page 7

(Exhibit WK-8a)

Oscar Hammerstein, II -- 2

(16) New York Committee for Justice in Freeport -- sponsor -- letterhead, February 21, 1947

(17) Parkchester Committee to End Discrimination in Housing -- supporter -- Daily Worker, January 12, 1953, page 6

(18) People's Songs -- sent greetings -- Bulletin, February-March 1947, page 19

(19) People's Songs -- sponsor -- Bulletin, September 1947

(20) People's Songs -- sent birthday greetings to -- Bulletin, February-March 1948, page 19

(21) Russian War Relief -- signer of appeal -- New York Times, October 10, 1941

(22) Southern California Committee to Win the Peace -- sponsor -- letterhead, August 9, 1946

(23) Southern Negro Youth Congress -- honorary member -- People's World, October 2, 1944, page 5

(24) Stop Film Censorship Committee -- endorser of statement -- Daily Worker, January 21, 1942, page 7

(25) Win-the-Peace Conference -- sponsor -- letterhead, April 5-7, 1946

(Exhibit WK-8b)

A. I consider it necessary to submit that—

MR. SHAW: Mr. Kornfeder, if you don't mind I would like the Chairman to admit those documents in evidence. He has not ruled on that.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

In response to the request of the General Counsel, it is ordered by the Chair that these documents be made a part of the records of this Committee.

Q. The parties whom you have named — various officers and officials of the N.A.A.C.P. — those are both Negro and white individuals, is that right?

A. That's right, both Negro and white. I thought it necessary to make those listings, in order to show ideological infiltration amongst the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. That is, of course, they couldn't have joined so many fronts operating in so many different directions. Some of these listings are over a period of anywhere from twelve to fifteen years during which there have been several changes of party line back and forth. I mean it is impossible for an intelligent individual to stay with the Communists during so many flip-flops, if he hadn't absorbed some of their propaganda and agitation.

Q. This is what you mean by ideological infiltration, is that right?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You know that anyone espousing that many different and sometimes contradictory causes must be following ideology put forth by the Communist Party. Is that right?

A. To a considerable extent—he must, in order to join so many organizations at different periods of time and party line.

23 Frames
Nora Naylor 2 WK-9

February 1957

S. Ralph Harlow, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- program, March 29, 1941

(2) American League Against War and Fascism -- sponsor of meetings of -- Massachusetts Hearings, p. 151

(3) American Russian Institute -- endorser of campaign -- folder, 1945

(4) American Student Union -- member of sponsoring committee -- Student Advocate, February 1937, page 2

(5) Committee for Citizenship Rights -- endorser -- letterhead, January 10, 1942

(6) Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy -- sponsor -- program, January 23-25, 1948

(7) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of statement to President Truman -- Daily Worker, December 14, 1949, page 8

(8) Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights -- signer of telegram -- Daily Worker, September 17, 1940, pages 1, 5

(9) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union -- sent greetings -- Soviet Russia Today, November 1937, page 79

(10) John Reed Clubs -- signer of protest -- New York Times, May 19, 1930

(11) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of open letter to Congress on the McCarran Internal Security Act -- dated January 19, 1951

(12) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of petition -- June 22, 1951

(13) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of open letter to Republican and Democratic Parties -- Daily Worker, July 9, 1952, page 3

(14) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts -- signer of open letter to Senator Hennings -- dated November 14, 1955

(Exhibit WK-9a)

S. Ralph Harlow -- 2

(15) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of petition opposing renewal of the Dies Committee -- dated January 1943

(16) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of news release -- dated December 26, 1941

(17) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party -- Daily Worker, March 19, 1945

(18) Protestant -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 22, 1941

(19) Protestant Digest Associates -- sponsor of call to dinner-forum -- leaflet, February 25, 1941

(20) Schappes Defense Committee -- sponsor -- New York Times, October 9, 1944

(21) Statement Asking J. Howard McGrath to Withdraw Contempt Proceedings -- signer -- Daily Worker, February 19, 1951, page 9

(22) Statement Endorsing Publication and Distribution of the Report of Seven Clergymen Who Visited Yugoslavia -- signer -- press release, October 31, 1947

(23) World Peace Appeal -- endorser -- leaflet, August 31, 1950

(Exhibit WK-9b)

Q. You were going to proceed, I wanted to get these questions in to explain—

A. Yes. Well I think I answered that.

Q. Now, from the evidence that we have, it is obvious that the Communist Party is dedicated to, and operates a complete and continuous conflict pattern, a pattern that has its roots in the doctrine of Communism. These conflicts are premeditated and planned. The question I would like to pose is this, what is the difference between the Communist Party's methods amongst the Negroes as compared with the Communist Party's methods in general?

A. Well, as I believe I said—I don't know whether I said it in my second appearance—probably did—the difference is in the exploitation of the racial element in the situation. You see when they work, let's say amongst the whites, well, they try to get the workmen on their side or try to incite the farmers in order to neutralize them, or they try to work in religious denominations and so on and so forth. But mainly their approach is to utilize whatever discontent there may be in the economic situation of one strata or another of the population. But when it comes to the Negroes, the other element enters; namely, the racial angle. They know that that angle exists, of the Negro suspecting the white, and the white suspecting the Negro. On the basis of that they want to get the Negro as a Negro on their side, irrespective of whether he is a business man or a professional or a workman or whatever he is, and incite him against the other race. If you read Communist propaganda addressed to the Negroes, it's a continuous and persistent racial incitation throughout. Whatever other tactical manipulations they have carried on, on this one angle, racial incitation, they were consistent throughout except for about three years during the war.

25 Exhibits
7 Pages WK 10

February 1957

Benjamin E. Mays, Board of Directors, NAACP:

(1) African Aid Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 28, 1949

(2) African Aid Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 20, 1950

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter for -- Lamp, May 1948, page 4

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of 15th anniversary national conference -- program, December 11-12, 1948

(5) American Crusade to End Lynching -- signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington, D. C. -- dated September 23, 1946

(6) American Round Table on India -- member -- letterhead, 1941

(7) Churchman Associates, Dinner Presenting Award to G. Bromley Oxnam -- member of honorary committee -- program, February 23, 1949

(8) Civil Rights Congress -- signer of call -- Daily Worker, October 21, 1947, page 5

(9) Civil Rights Congress -- honorary co-chairman -- letterhead, December 16, 1947

(10) Civil Rights Congress, Division of Mobilization for Democracy -- national co-chairman -- letterhead, April 23, 1948

(11) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense -- sponsor -- booklet, 1946, page 12

(12) Committee for a Free Political Advocacy -- signer -- letterhead, March 30, 1950

(13) Congress on Civil Rights -- member of initiating committee -- program, April 27-28, 1946

(14) DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee -- honorary chairman and sponsor -- program, February 23, 1951

(15) Fraternal Council of Churches in America -- signer of statement urging rejection of the Atlantic Pact -- Daily Worker, June 28, 1949, page 2

(16) Legislative Assembly -- sponsor -- Worker, January 30, 1949, page 4

(Exhibit WK-10a)

Benjamin E. Mays -- 2

(17) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- initiating sponsor -- letterhead, June 19, 1950

(18) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of open letter to members of Congress -- open letter, January 19, 1951

(19) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- sponsor of committee on education -- bulletin, June 1945

(20) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of open letter on Harry Bridges -- Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, page 4

(21) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of petition for Bridges -- booklet, September 11, 1942

(22) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of statement approving War Department's order permitting commissioning of members of the Communist Party -- Worker, March 18, 1945, pages 1-3, magazine section

(23) National Non-Partisan Delegation to Washington for Passage of Civil Rights Legislation -- co-sponsor -- letterhead, June 2, 1948

(24) Negro Leaders' Defense of the Communist Party -- signer of manifesto against outlawing the Communist Party -- press release, April 21, 1947

(25) Open Letter to Congress to Reject the North Atlantic Military Pact and to Truman to Initiate Direct Negotiations with the Soviet Union -- signer -- Daily Worker, April 13, 1949, page 4

(26) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- endorser of declaration on civil rights -- folder, November 20, 1948

(27) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- chairman of first southwide conference on discrimination in higher education -- program, April 8, 1950

(28) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- vice-president -- letterhead, January 1951

(29) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- member of nominating committee, 1947-1948 -- 1947 House Committee Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare, page 14

(30) Statement Condemning Drive to War and Destruction of Our People's Rights -- signer -- Daily Worker, May 27, 1941, page 5

(31) United Negro and Allied Veterans of America -- consultant -- Daily Worker, May 31, 1947, page 12

(32) Win-the-Peace Conference -- sponsor -- program, April 5-6, 1946

(Exhibit WK-10b)

Q. Racial incitation is the key to the special methods that the Communists use among the Negroes, is it not?

A. That's right, and they figure that this will have a reaction amongst the whites. So, it's not only a method from which they aim to profit by inciting the Negroes. At the same time they will create a situation amongst the whites. And if they can provoke thus a bitter conflict between the two races which would overshadow every other consideration, they figure that will be the ideal situation for their operations. That's why they put in so much of an effort to get the Negro who — well, there's about fourteen million Negroes in a country of one hundred sixty million — they figure that the Negro is the leverage through which they can produce that terrific conflict in the midst of which they aim to get what they want to get.

Q. To what extent do they depend upon spontaneity in connection with these incitations and incidents that they provoke?

A. The Communists never wait for spontaneity. Of course, if there is any, they take advantage of it. But the Communists are a planning machine. They create situations. If there is no conflict they will artificially create one if they can. But they don't depend on spontaneity at all.

Q. Can you give us an illustration of some of these incidents that you speak of that—

A. Well, with special reference to their activities amongst Negroes. Of course, they do that also in factories. But in special reference to the Negroes — as you know up in the north the color line isn't drawn sharply at all. In most of the cities a Negro can go to a restaurant and eat there with whites and nobody raises a fuss. But there were some restaurants, though, in all these cities where they wouldn't serve a Negro. So the Communists would pick out just that one particular place, go in there with a group of them — Negroes and whites — and start a rumpus — a riot — a disturbance. Usually they would have a couple of squads on the outside, sort of nearby in case an important fight developed. Well, that, of course, they don't consider a very desirable situation. They rather prefer to take advantage of something that is sort of simmering along that they can provoke into action. But they have done that in order to play themselves up before the Negro in the north. They have done it in New York, in Chicago, and in other cities in the United States.

Q. As an expert in Communist tactics, how do you determine the depth of Communist infiltration into any particular organization?

A. Well, I think it could be determined by a number of relatively obvious facts: (1) The circulation of their literature. To what extent do they succeed to dispose of their literature amongst the Negroes and have it read, whether it be books, or booklets, or pamphlets, or articles or whatever the case may be. (2) You could also gauge it by attendance at meetings. And the response at meetings. (3) Their ability to take important cases away from other organizations. Like, for instance, the Scottsboro Case. The N.A.A.C.P. was the one that was first interested in the Scottsboro Case, and they aimed to make a legal case out of it; but the Communists succeeded to practically steal it right

out of their hands and make it a tremendous propaganda bee. And (4) when you see that important leaders of other organizations are enough influenced to join a number of their fronts, well that shows that their propaganda — that their patient efforts had effect beyond their ranks. (5) Another is absorption of Communist basic doctrine, in part or as a whole, by active members or leaders of organizations other than Communist. The evidence that I introduced before illustrates that point. These particular N.A.A.C.P. leaders absorbed enough influence to associate themselves with numerous fronts. (6) Then there is acceptance of, let's say, the operational strategy of the Communists. Amongst the Negroes particularly this would refer to Negro nationalism. Now that's something that before practically didn't exist. It is entirely a product of the huge Communist propaganda effort for thirty years — Negro nationalism. Negro nationalism sets up a big picture in the mind of the Negro — a big objective which even if he gets the satisfaction of a number of relatively smaller grievances he will still not be satisfied because they have created in his mind a major objective — Negro nationalism. Well, it is obvious that this ideal of Negro nationalism has been making headway, even though the specific idea of a Negro republic in the South hasn't yet been accepted outside of the ranks of the Communists.

Q. The purpose of this Negro nationalism thing, one of its objectives is to make the Negroes not only here in the United States but all over the world think of themselves as a group apart and related wherever they might be. Isn't that true?

A. As a group apart which has big aims. Of course, they have been thinking more or less as a group apart. But, to add to that an objective — that's the thing that makes the grouping a potent one. (7) Then there is the acceptance of Communist tactics. That is not to wait until a situation arises, but to create a situation which, of course, is typically Communist. They don't wait until there is a grievance. They create it. You know, man's mind is really a very wonderful, flexible machine, but you can sell it lots of shoddy goods. So, they create in man's mind a situation which promotes conflicting — which leads to conflict and very often leads to the very opposite for which the thing had been started.

Well, there are a number of Negro organizations, especially the N.A.A.C.P. lately, that have shown definite signs of not just waiting for grievances but of creating situations for it. Now they haven't yet gone to the extent of the Communists, but the mere idea that they are practicing to some extent — that shows the influence of Communist methods upon the minds of the leaders and organizers, whether the N.A.A.C.P. or others. Well, then, there is (8) the absence of any serious effort to combat Communist ideological penetration. Well, that is evident in **The Crisis**, the official journal of the N.A.A.C.P. — which is recommending Communist books for its members to read. Such literature is recommended as late as 1956. Now, I can say this, that the leadership of the C.I.O. and those unions that have been thrown out, are far more conscious than that. They have no Communist-authored books for sale in their union halls. But this group

(the NAACP) hasn't yet waked up enough on the subject of Communism. You can still find in the book recommendation section of their official journal Communist literature recommended to be read by their members. I mean as late as last year.

Q. Well, — are you through?

A. I have four more points.

Q. Go right ahead.

A. Well, then, there is (9) the practice of uniting, directly or indirectly, with Communists on various so-called common interest issues. Of course, there is less of that in the last few years, but prior to that, that had become practically a general practice. But wherever such a thing is shown it shows that the organization uniting with the Communists doesn't yet understand the nature of Communism and is, therefore willing under the pretense of unity for a common effort to play around with the Trojan Horse. (10) Another thing that is a part of Communist operational methods is the practice of broadening each conflict. The conflict may be a small one around a small grievance and if the grievance is satisfied, well that's the end of the conflict. Until the Communists came into the field, that used to be usually the case. There was a grievance — well, they were all happy with the remedy and after that, well the thing was forgotten — but not since the Communists got to operating, especially in an organization in which they had strong ideological influence. Each conflict just becomes a stalking point for a bigger conflict. To broaden the thing out, make everything political. Raise the issue that people shouldn't help themselves, but the government should do everything for them. Everything should be done by a regulation, and if it isn't done well, of course, the system is to blame for that and has to be disposed of, and so forth. Well the Communists, of course, drive that always to considerable extremes. But you could see in an organization like the N.A.A.C.P. lately the tendency of making for the same type of strategy, although not yet in such an acute form.

Now, these are some of the manifestations of Communist influence in an organization, any organization. I'm just mentioning that in connection with the N.A.A.C.P. because, well, we are talking about that particular organization. Now, that doesn't mean that that organization is yet controlled by the Communist Party. No. When the party controls an organization, well, the Politburo of the Communist Party decides, transmits the instructions to the controlled organizations, and the controlled organizations carry them out. One could say that the N.A.A.C.P. is organizationally penetrated to such an extent—that's only possible when the party penetrates the organization sufficiently to have the deciding voice on their top committee. That isn't yet the case with the N.A.A.C.P. Maybe it will never be the case. But if they do not combat Communist influence, it will eventually be the case. Because, point number one in getting control of an organization is to influence it ideologically. The question as to whether you will eventually control it organizationally is just a matter of how fast you extend your ideological influence. If you extend that sufficiently, the organization will fall into your lap like a ripe plum from the tree. And

if the leadership there doesn't become more alert on the subject of Communist ideological influence, that's what will eventually happen to them as it happened to others.

(11) There's also another way of judging to what extent the organization is penetrated by the Communists. It is whether they are able to start a conflict from within the ranks — an organized conflict, which moves along a certain pattern in consonance with the Communist line of operation. For instance, "the United States is an imperialist country and is doing imperialist deeds," and so and so forth, and, therefore, organizational chapter number so and so is recommended to do so and so. Then it passes that order around to other chapters, and other chapters line up, and so on; and they then exert pressure upon the top echelon of the organization. Now, if they are able to do that it means they have penetrated the lower ranks in the process of getting into the top ranks. They have started a faction fight, and, of course, their faction fight is always started in the name of unity. If the top ranks will unite with the Communist demands that declare the United States a — let's say a vicious imperialism — well, then, of course, that will be a gain accomplished in the name of unity. It will at the same time enhance their infiltration organizationally from the lower ranks. (12) Another sign of organizational infiltration is when the infiltration into the lower ranks is able to collaborate with a number of the leaders up on the top. Let's say in a whole Board of Directors on which there may be twenty persons there are only three secret Communists. Well, they will lead the infiltration in the lower ranks by giving it direction, by giving it information, by picking up the issues raised in the lower ranks and projecting them into the top ranks, by raising those issues in conferences among the leaders, and so on and so forth. Well, I would say as far as the N.A.A.C.P. is concerned, there is some infiltration in the lower ranks, and there appears to be some working in the organization up on top.

Q. What about ideological?

A. Well, ideological infiltration has — I think I showed all these operational methods would be impossible if there wasn't ideological infiltration, because nobody would carry out such operations. There must be an ideological infiltration before an organization is ready to use the operational methods of the Communists.

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, let us go briefly into the operation of ideological infiltration as defined by you. Point number one being, I presume, collaboration in production and circulation of Negro racial literature and other joint efforts along that line?

A. That's right.

Q. What have you got to prove that as a point?

A. Well, I think I indicated that by explaining the partnership jointly between, let's say, the N.A.A.C.P. and the Communist Negro fronts on a whole number of occasions over a period of years and in the sale of Communist literature through the N.A.A.C.P.

Q. Point number four being, I take it, the actual presence of much of the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. on Communist fronts as fellow tra-

velers. These are some of the peple you have already identified. Is that right?

A. Yes. Yes, the principal one would be this W. E. B. Dubois, and another one once wrote a party line book on the nationalism doctrine for the Negroes—that's Ralph Bunche. This book was praised in the theoretical organ of the Communist Party—The Communist—and I know from my membership on this top committee that no book ever gets endorsed in the official organ of the Communist Party—in the Communist theoretical organ, unless it is first approved by the Political Bureau. We also have some articles in a paper—Communist paper—intended for the intellectuals at that time—The New Masses. Now, of course, Bunche may have reversed himself since then, but, if so, I have not heard about it.

Q. Now, point number six relates to the acceptance of special Communist strategy such as racial nationalism. Where does the N.A.A.C.P. stand on that particular strategy?

A. Well, the N.A.A.C.P. as shown in its official journal, The Crisis, has has come around to favor Negro nationalism, but not the Negro republic in the South. And they are supporting the negro nationalist movements generally and, of course, in specific countries where the Negroes have a big majority.

Q. Now, point number seven was the acceptance of this make-conflict tactics—that is, generate their own incidents for the Communists.

A. I think that's obvious. I think the N.A.A.C.P. has been busy in recent months generating a number of these incidents.

Q. Do you mind giving us an illustration of one or two?

A. Well, it looks to me like that was the case with Autherine Lucy, also with some cases of moving into a neighborhood where the particular individual knows he wouldn't be well received. I mean, an average Negro family just wouldn't take such risks of moving into a hostile environment. That's an organization person who does that.

Q. That's what they call "block busting" in the north in some of the places, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. You said in your previous testimony that back when you first came in contact with it, the N.A.A.C.P. was an organization advocating racial reconciliation. Do you still find that to be the case?

A. Well, they still have once in a while a little item in The Crisis that contains the same idea, but if you take the total of their agitation, it will be something like this—90 per cent will be conflict and 10 per cent will be, as it were, a hangover from their past. I heard that they have differences of opinion on that in the top circles. Their conflict making may be something that may eventually evaporate, but based on the way it has been for a number of years, it looks like they are on the way to continue that way.

Q. Now, point number eight that you made was the absence of any serious effort to combat the Communist ideological penetration. Would you, for the record, again repeat what you said on that score?

A. Well, I would say that one cannot be serious on combating an ideological penetration and advertise and sell Communist literature at the same time. Of course, there are some of the leaders of N.A.A.C.P. who more recently have been making speeches against Communism. In fact, in 1950, they adopted a resolution against Communist infiltration in the N.A.A.C.P. which, of course, shows that there must be some infiltration, because, otherwise there is no sense passing resolutions against it. But, they haven't yet come around to the attitude that, let's say, the C.I.O. leadership has, of fighting it today, tomorrow, after tomorrow, next week, next month and so on. It's just an occasional pot-shot which I say is not a serious effort to deal with an enemy of this sort.

Q. The ninth point that you mentioned a while ago was the practice of uniting directly or indirectly with Communists or various so-called Communist-front interests in certain issues. Now, I would like for you to repeat to what extent this has been and is now being practiced by the N.A.A.C.P.

A. Well, I know of no recent effort of the N.A.A.C.P. uniting with Communist Negro fronts, but there's been plenty of that in the past. There's a situation now where the Communists try to unite with the N.A.A.C.P., and the N.A.A.C.P. has cooled off uniting with the Communists. It is a situation similar to that which existed in the union presided over by Sidney Hillman, where they used to say that Sidney Hillman doesn't unite with the Communists, but the Communists unite with Sidney Hillman. Of course, that doesn't mean that here and there and in one or another situation there is no collaboration, but it's not a official one—not in the form of an official committee.

Q. Now, the tenth point you made was that by way of identification of steps of infiltration in the practice of broadening each conflict—to make it political, involving the masses, and so forth. Again, I would like you to enter in the record the statement that you made as to how this applies to the N.A.A.C.P.

A. Oh, I think that's fairly obvious in the use they tried to make of the recent Supreme Court decision, in which they tried to make the big all-sweeping occasion to get in a hurry to a point which before they were trying to reach slowly. Of course, they have become largely unlike other Negro organizations—I mean anti-communist Negro organizations—the N.A.A.C.P. has gone into politics to an extent that they became, as it were, an ex-officio political party for the Negroes. They try to throw their weight around politically, claiming to represent a large Negro vote. I must say that it's my opinion that the racial incitation amongst the Negro has been so thorough and intense, conducted by the Communists through their propaganda, that you can direct the Negro vote much more effectively than, for instance, the labor vote. The labor vote has proven to be practically undirected. The average workman, well he just has no angles—he votes like everybody else. But under the incitation of so many years, both by the Communists, and recently by the N.A.A.C.P., you see a strange phe-

nomena. The Communists produce the agitation and the N.A.A.C. produces the organization. The emotional element entering into makes it possible to swing the Negro vote around more than—far mo than the labor vote.

Q. I might phrase parenthetically here, Mr. Kornfeder, that I have ju been furnished with a copy of a news article appearing in the Washin ton Evening Star of February 11, 1957, which bears out and corrob rates everything that you have just finished saying. Before I ask yc another question, I am going to ask permission of the Chairman t permit me to introduce this as an exhibit and mark it C-1 for ident fication. (See pages 82, 83)

BY SENATOR RAINACH:

The Chair orders that exhibit C-1 may be made an official part o the records of this committee.

A. May I be permitted to sort of make a summation of this ideologica infiltration thing?

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. I wish you would because that is one of the key things that we hav to understand in order to comprehend what we are facing here i the State.

A. I will try to do that, sort of make a basic definition of Communis infiltration methods. Well, first of all, comes, of course, the accept ance of the basic doctrines of Communism. Now those who accept th basic doctrine may become members of the Communist Party or may be just fellow travelers, but they are the hard core of Communist influence, because when they accept the doctrine, they have, as it were a rounded-out social perspective of doing away with the existing social system. And, as said by the previous witness, that doctrine is based on materialism—I refer to Mr. Banister this morning—and is the opposite of believing in a Supreme Being. That doctrine, of course, is the opposite of the rule of laws and is based on the rule of classes in society.

Actually, the rule of the Communist Party is based on the concept of the supremecy of the government and the incidental character of the individual in the total picture, and the one-party monopoly—no competition either ideological or organizational or otherwise—one party monopoly. Now, those who have accepted those concepts, either in totality or in substantial part, they are the hard core of Communism whether they are members at the time or not. They are the hard core of Communism. Now, for instance, the Communst Party had a tremendous turnover. According to the F.B.I. they are only supposed to have about twenty thousand members. But the number of individuals to join the Communist Party in the United States since its creation goes into 600,000. Many of those who have come in and gone out still have in their minds the Communist doctrine although they have quit the party as an organization. Amongst the Negroes they had even a bigger percentage turnover of membership. Of about 40,000 Negroes who joined the Communist Party since 1925, the present estimate of Negroes in the Communist Party is as low as 1600.

EVENING STAR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 11, 1957

U. S. REDS PLEDGE AID TO FOES OF SEGREGATION

NEW YORK, Feb. 11 (AP).--The American Communist Party promised today "full participation in and support of the all-sided anti-segregation movement in the South."

It also pledged to strengthen and broaden "the battle for the unfettered right of suffrage for all Southerners."

A spokesman said the party, holding its first convention in seven years, had approved this program as part of a policy resolution the delegates are drafting.

The program also called for:

An intensified struggle for equal employment in all industries everywhere in the Nation

Action for desegregation of public schools.

Support for NAACP

"In the South," this section of the resolution said, "this requires support of the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations of the Negro people to accomplish desegregation of the schools in accordance with the mandates of the Federal courts."

The resolution said it is not the task of Communists to "impose upon the Negro people . . . new forms of struggle, tactics alien to their historic development as a people."

The convention next turned to a discussion of the Communist Party's relation to the trade union movement.

The party yesterday rejected proposals that it reorganize into a "non-party" political action group

Committees studied various sections of the policy resolution to be voted on before the four-day convention ends tomorrow.

The final form of the resolution is expected to determine whether the party will continue to follow the Moscow Marxist-Leninist line or adopt a more independent "American road to socialism."

(Exhibit C-1a)

The convention decided after two hours of discussion yesterday that the party should retain its present form as a political party rather than dissolve into a political action association.

Even proponents of the association idea went along with the majority, but they obtained agreement that the association form be left open to further study.

Resolution on "Cold War"

The convention also approved an amendment to the draft resolution. It said "predominant Wall street forces, whose policies are reflected in the Eisenhower wing of the G. O. P. and most of the Democratic leadership, favor a continuation of the main features of the cold war," but that "this does not exclude negotiating some partial steps to disarmament."

While the convention was taking this action, Hungarian pickets marched for an hour outside the Chateau Gardens, on the Lower East Side, where the convention is being held. Some pickets threw eggs that splashed against the front doors to the hall.

The pickets, described as including some recent refugees from Hungary, carried placards with slogans such as "USSR, you are guilty of mass murder," and "Stop killing our people."

Claude Lightfoot of Chicago and Carl Winter of Detroit, co-chairmen of the convention's presiding committee, issued a statement saying the pickets were attempting to "rekindle and extend the cold war."

The "name and organization" resolution adopted by the convention said:

"1. That this convention go on record to reaffirm the continuation of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Our chief task is to strengthen, rebuild and consolidate the Communist Party and overcome its isolation.

"2. That this convention opposes the transformation of the party into a political or educational association.

"3. That, although we oppose endless debate on this question, this should not close the door to all constructive exploration and discussion of the subject as may be organized by the incoming national committee.

"4. That we recognize that some ideas which have been brought forward in this discussion are revisionist in character. However, it would be wrong to label all proposals for change in name and form as revisionist per se."

(Exhibit C-1b)

But many of these 40,000 have still a substantial part of the Communist doctrine in their minds. Of course, there are others who quit and eventually freed themselves of these doctrines.

That's the basic element in Communist ideological infiltration out of which Communist organizations eventually form. Well let's say that on the basis of that, one individual is a Communist. Now, after that comes another type of ideological infiltration, the acceptance of strategic doctrine, or formulas, which in this case is Negro racial nationalism. Of course, in the case of workers or other strata, it may be another subsidiary derivative of the major doctrine. These they call unifying slogans. Well, in the case of the Negroes, it's a matter of Negroes becoming a nation as a race. You see, this is different from other concepts of nations. Until Stalin borrowed this concept from Hitler, a nation was conceived of as several million persons who speak the same language, live in the same area for centuries, have certain unifying cultural characteristics, and the question as to whether they were originally German or Slavs or Frenchmen didn't enter into it. But on the basis of this, well, assuming that would be projected generally, *then all the whites throughout the world should be one nation, just as* all the Negroes throughout the world should be one nation.

The Negroes who don't accept the Communist doctrine as a whole but accept this particular derivative — they will be the next element— the nearest one with which the Communists could work, because they have accepted a strategic concept originated by the Communists. Well, those would be ten to every single Communist who accepted the entire Communist doctrine. Then you come down further. That's the one that you are probably most familiar with — a minor thought pattern *which relates to action slogans. In the case of Negroes, let's say,* equal rights for Negroes; in the case of workers, let's say, a six hour day, and full pensions, and guaranteed annual wages; or guaranteed income for farmers — these are tactical slogans with which Communists get together some strata to achieve certain immediate objectives. Now in that case you will have — for every one Communist a hundred others who will accept the tactical formula.

These are the three patterns, ideologically, out of which the Communist movement operates — it's a sort of system of wheels within *wheels.* The inner wheel is the Communist doctrine. The next wheels are their strategic slogans, and the wheels after that are their tactical operations.

Now, when it comes down to tactical you can have even more extensive ones than 100 to 1. The Communist Party is the idea factory for disruption. It's busy with that all the time. It isn't like a political party — before election they (the political party) get busy for 3 months, and then they forget about it for four years. The Communist Party is an idea factory for belaboring the populace ideologically, tactically, and organizationally. It is continuously active. The hard core, the ones who accept their strategy, the ones who go with them on tactical questions — all of these put together make the whole. They are the impact of their movement.

So, when you hear that, "Oh well, the Communist Party has only 20,000 members; no use worrying about that in a country of 160 million," well these 20,000 have probably 200,000 fellow travelers around, and the 20,000 are not 20,000 members; they are 20,000 organizers. Every Communist belongs to two or three or four or even more other organizations; he is a force within each at the same time. It's only when you get the complete picture of that whole thing that you can see the potential menace of it.

Q. Now, this particular strategic objective of racial nationalism that you have mentioned — how extensively do you think that has been able to penetrate and influence the Negroes of our country?

A. Oh, racial nationalism, as a general idea, is influencing the Negroes in this country quite a bit.

Q. You think that is a serious danger to our present — in our present set-up here in this country?

A. Well, it's a serious danger this way, that the Negro begins to think of himself as a group that has ambitions beyond the social system of the United States. See, until this thing occurred, the Negro considered himself a person who has grievances, but he did not consider himself as someone who has ambitions beyond the United States. Every one of them thought that those things could be settled sooner or later, or hoped for settlement within the pattern of the social set-up in the United States. Now, the moment he becomes a nationalist, even though he considers a Negro republic in the South impractical, he has ambitions beyond that. He is not any more an American nationalist; he is a Negro nationalist. That's the impact of this thing, and it's the driving force behind lots of the hostility that is now being spread and is manifest in the racial relations between Negroes and whites. The Negroes — lots of them, are beginning to accept ideas that either directly or by implication lead to disloyalty to the United States.

Q. Are there to your knowledge any Communist Party Negro fronts still in existence?

A. Yes, there is one important front still in existence. Well, it's not near as important as it used to be — that's the Council on African Affairs. The Council on African Affairs was another one of these Communist Negro fronts in which there was cooperation between the N.A.A.C.P. and — and the Communist Negro fronts and other Negro organizations. Some of the directors of the N.A.A.C.P. were members of it up until about, I think 3 or 4 years ago. The Council on African Affairs is different in some respects from the other Negro fronts that the Commies set up, because it's a coordinating center whose main objective is, together with the French Communist party and the British Communist Party, to foster nationalism in Africa and to win the American Negro over to the idea of Negro nationalism for Africa. They are sort of coordinating these types of activities and, of course, at the same time, issuing lots of literature under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs.

Q. What became of all the other Negro fronts?

A. Some of them just went out of business, and finally the Communist Party decided that, well, they should stay out of business. Others have

been liquidated by the Communist Party, due to change of party line from Moscow. Others died after the war was over and the so-called "cold war" was going on. Of course, the "cold war" was really a false term because Communism has been at war against existing society ever since it got started. It isn't something that just happened since the last world war. And that's the thing that makes the infiltration in the N.A.A.C.P. particularly important, because now the whole Communist force is concentrating on the N.A.A.C.P. Until then they thought they could make him (the Negro) join Communist Negro fronts that the party controls directly. Well, this didn't succeed. So now the entire force of the Communists and its following is out to do one thing—get into the N.A.A.C.P. and get control of it. That's something that needs to bear watching, because you can expect quite a few things happening there — probably internal fights, because the present leadership I don't think is going to just vacate and give it to the Communists. They may be believing in some of their theories, but they are not going to run out of there to accommodate the Communists, I don't think. So, there is bound to be a fight. Who is going to come out on top of it, of course, remains to be seen.

Q. Your testimony has shown that the Communist Party is an organization with very high potential for maneuvering in any combat that it might be engaged in. Can you give us a brief description of just how such an operation is set up inside an existing Negro organization, for instance?

A. Oh, well, the Communist Party, whether inside a Negro organization or otherwise — well, just to take the Negro organization, the party has a commission called the Negro Commission, which is right on top. It is under the orders of the Political Bureau, and then the Negro Communists inside each Negro organization are organized into groups — secret groups, both regionally and locally. So, the Negro Commission of the Communist Party thus has at its disposal — assuming that now there are 1600 Negro Communists, all of which have some organizational experience, some more, others less, operating secretly inside the existing Negro organizations — it can throw the force of these 1600 more or less experienced Negroes around in whatever direction. It can give them directives what to do, how to do it. It can shift them from one place to the other; it can tell them, well, for the next year we want to concentrate on this particular area, and take it easy in some other area that is at the moment considered not consequential. It's a type of organization which has a maneuverability which no other existing organization has. That's why when they unite with somebody it's like a hard object getting into a soft one. They may be small, but it's a hard object. The soft one isn't going to penetrate the hard one; the hard one is going to penetrate the soft one. And the leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. haven't got that type of machine.

That's why when there is considerable ideological infiltration, and there is a machine of that sort operating inside, centrally directed, maneuvered around like an army, it can do things way beyond the significance of its numbers. That's how the thing is organized. And not only amongst the Negroes. The labor union field and other fields

—same way. For instance, there's infiltration in the public schools. That is the way it's organized.

Q. From what you are saying, even though the Communist cells in these various organizations are a secret thing, in its maneuver it must to a certain extent expose itself. I gather that from what you were saying. Isn't that true?

A. Oh, definitely. But, you see, they get away with it because the American public is only beginning to learn about this type of an enemy. They get away with lots of their operations without the people under whose noses it takes place recognizing it for what it is. That's the way — that's how they got away infiltrating a number of religious denominations. The good people there just couldn't conceive of how a bunch of atheists could operate in a religion. They said, "Well, if they begin that, we will throw them out fast."

They don't operate that way. They pose as church reformers. They are in there not really so much to capture the church — what they aim is to neutralize the churches in the struggle between Communism and democratic society. If they could succeed in neutralizing the real, good, loyal people so that they didn't know whether they should support this society or not, that's enough for the Communists. They don't need any more. That's sufficient for them.

Q. To go back and go over something I believe you have already covered in your testimony — we passed it but I think it's important from this committee's standpoint. The Negro Commission of the Communist Party, as I understand it, is under orders from the Politburo — Political Bureau, and the Political Bureau is under orders itself from Moscow. Isn't that true?

A. That's right. That's right.

Q. This is a direct chain from Russia right down to the United States?

A. Direct chain from Russia down, yes.

Q. I have been asked by some of the people in the audience, and also some members of this committee, to go into a matter that we discussed in the Executive Session yesterday — that is, this particular fact. In connection with your leaving the Communist Party — what, if any, personal sacrifices or injuries did you suffer?

A. Well, it is something that every Communist leader faces if he quits their organization. First of all, he has against him the concentrated hostility of — well, it's something like this. You immediately get thousand upon thousands of enemies. There's no leader — if it's just an ordinary rank and follower who has been in the party just a year, the effort against him isn't near as big, although he may have a hard time in the particular place where he works — especially if the place is controlled by a union under the control of the Communist Party. But if you were a leader — well, then they just try to do everything that is possible to smear you, to ostracize you, to make it difficult for you to make a living if it's within their facility. And they keep that up! That goes with the doctrine. No resignations are accepted in the Communist Party, particularly a resignation by a leader.

You just — well, if you had been in the movement as long as I,

practically everybody you knew was either in the party or around the party, and all your friends of y are your enemies tomorrow. That's why most of the—even the leading Communists when they quit, they just lose themselves. Some of them, of course, do that because, well, they are sorry that they spent so much of their lives on something that in their minds turned out to be a monster. By the time they quit — every leading Communist eventually comes to that conclusion, but not everyone is willing to face all that hostility by being active against them. Now, when you step out and are active against them, oh well, now you have stirred up a hornet's nest that's going to be buzzing around you and taking chunks out of you wherever they can.

It's a tremendous force of intimidation when you quit and especially if you do something against them. You have to have very strong convictions, though, just not lay low and do nothing. I'm not just speaking about myself. That's the experience of — there's thousands and thousands of individuals who have been in the party and quit, and they do a little bit here and there in their talk against Communism. But when I say quit, I mean they quit also ideologically, not only organizationally. Out of the 600,000 that were in there and got out, there's probably at least 100,000 who are finished with Communism ideologically; but you will find only a few dozen who will step out and be active fighting. It's too much of a machine. I mean it. It's not big in size but it has a cutting edge.

You can quit the Democrats or the Republicans all right; so some of your friends think that's a mistake. You should have hung around, and whatever you have that you are complaining about eventually would have been adjusted, and so on and so forth. But the same people will still be your friends. They certainly are not going to be after you. You can't do that in the Communist Party. You have the Communist Party and all their fronts, and all unions that they influence. If you are in the education profession, all the Communist-controlled teachers' unions — and they used to control some very important teachers' unions in the profession — will be after you. So that, I mean that that's something to cope with and, of course, one knows that if you join them and become a leader and then quit, oh, you are not just a mere opponent, you are something else. I, of course, went through all that.

Q. How did it affect you personally and your family, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Well, my family, which is my wife and boy — I made a mistake when I left Russia for South America. I didn't anticipate that. So I had an understanding that she remain in Russia until I returned from South America. And since I was an official of the international organization, the boy was taken care of in the Kremlin Children's School, which is the classiest children's school in Russia, right inside the Kremlin. She got 250 rubles a month as my wife, and since I was an official of the Communist International, she was entitled to that, and then later on they assigned her to something, so she got something officially. But when I returned from South America and tried to get them out, well I

just found that the machinery don't work. I made an arrangement through Earl Browder who was then the general secretary, that on his next trip he arrange for their exit from Russia, which he could do. As secretary he could requisition them, let's say, that is my wife — the boy was too small for activities in the United States. Well, he promised that, and he said that he did everything that he could when he went to Moscow. Whether he lied to me or whether after he left they just ignored whatever arrangements he made, I don't know, but I never succeeded in getting them out of Russia. There's a law in this kind of fighting. Of couse, you know they have something that doesn't exist anywhere else. It didn't even exist in Nazi Germany. They have a law — so-called collective responsibility — that if one member of the family quits the party and becomes an opponent, all the other members of the family are held responsible; and if you are a leader, then all the other members of the family are arrested, and also your friends are arrested. In other words, they work on the idea that this nest of dissatisfaction is rooted out — eliminated. Well, they apparently must have suspected me of having opposition ideas, which, of course, I had. In fact, I probably would have quit them two years earlier, except that I thought I could get her and the kid out if I stayed in the party. Well, it didn't work. That's how this came about.

Q. We have also been asked to inquire as to the—we went into this in the Executive Session, I believe—your appraisal of the dangers of individual assassination either applied to you or anyone else who has become very active against the Communist Party after having held an important position with it?

A. Well, they made a few attempts in that direction within a year after I—within two years after I quit. I don't know that they had in their mind actual assassination, but they did have in mind doing a job on me physically. They usually gain access to the premises by posing as the police. They wore badges, claimed to represent the police; well, if it's individuals you don't know, you don't know whether it's the police or it isn't. It's not a question of asking them to show warrants or anything. Once you open up your door they just push in. So, of course, I anticipated that. I knew of cases like that. I know they have their "goon squads" so, of course, the first couple of years I carried a gun, and I was quite ready to use it. Even though I didn't have a permit I thought it was less risk under the circumstances to have a gun even without a permit than not to have one. Well, then there was another occasion where they were laying for me, but somebody told me about it. These were the only two direct attempts. Now, actually, in this country the danger of a leader who quits them being assassinated is not very big — because they haven't yet reached the stage where they go into that business. But if they were somewhere near seizing power or had infiltrated the government sufficiently to protect such operation, they would do it because they have done it before in other countries which have reached that stage.

Their theory is, they oppose the anarchist idea of solving social problems by assassinating leaders—individuals leaders. They believe in a wholesale job of waiting until they are ready to do the job on

a big scale, and not alerting the enemy by retail jobs prematurely. In the United States they haven't reached that stage yet. So, actually, knowing their methods, I didn't fear too much. I only feared that one of those "goon squads" might want to do a job on me—break an arm, break a nose, break a leg or things like that, say. Well that, of course, they would do. And—oh, run you over accidentally, so-called, on the street. Things like that you could expect if you were a leader and quit.

BY MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I'm going to tender the witness. I don't have any more questions. If there are any further questions from the members of the Committee, I'm sure Mr. Kornfeder would be glad to answer them.

A. Now, I would like to introduce some documentary material, that hasn't been mentioned. I don't know whether it can be done now.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Yes, it can. If you have it in your possession and can identify it, Mr. Kornfeder, we'd be glad to have it.

A. Well, on the subject of a Negro republic in the south, I have here a booklet published by **Workers Library Publishers**, which was the Communist Party publishing set-up, and written by one John Pepper. John Pepper was actually Joseph Pogany, a Hungarian who was the representative of Communist International here in the United States and for a number of years was the actual political boss of the Communist Party. He wrote that. It was the first pamphlet, I believe, that appeared on this question of the advocacy of a Negro republic in the south and I would just like to read one portion of it. (Page 10)

Q. Read it into the record, if you will, please.

A. **"First of all we must consider the compact Negro farming masses of the 'black belt' as the potential basis for a national liberation movement of the Negroes and as the basis for the realization of the right of self determination of a Negro state. Despite growing migration to the North, in 1920 there were still over 3,000,000 Negroes who constituted a majority of the population in 219 counties over a contiguous area in the 'black belt.' There are many national movements of the Negro city petit-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. The fact that the most important mass movement of this kind, the Garvey movement, was a sort of Negro Zionism and had such reactionary, extremely harmful slogans as leaving the United States and back to Africa, should not blind us to the revolutionary possibilities of the Negro national liberation movements of the future. It is unquestionable that first of all the Negro farmers can be the basis of a Negro national liberation movement of the future, despite the fact that today the Negro farming masses of the south are so oppressed that they do not yet show any signs of national awakening."** This was written in 1928.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this document in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-11 for identification. (See pages 91, 92)

A. Now, here I have a book, **Negro Liberation**, the author of which is Harry Haywood, the Negro who was with me in the Lenin School, who after his return had become the party's theoretician on the Negro

WORKER'S LIBRARY NO. 9

AMERICAN NEGRO PROBLEMS



WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
35 East 125th Street New York

(Exhibit WK-11a)

P. 10

First of all, we must consider the compact Negro farming masses of the "black belt" as the potential basis for a national liberation movement of the Negroes and as the basis for the realization of the right of self-determination of a Negro state. Despite growing migration to the north, in 1920 there were still over 3,000,000 Negroes who constituted a majority of the population in 219 counties over a contiguous area in the "black belt." There are many national movements of the Negro city petit-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. The fact that the most important mass movement of this kind, the Garvey movement, was a sort of Negro Zionism and had such reactionary, extremely harmful slogans as leaving the United States and back to Africa, should not blind us to the revolutionary possibilities of the Negro national liberation movements of the future. It is unquestionable that first of all the Negro farmers can be the basis of a Negro national liberation movement of the future, despite the fact that today the Negro farming masses of the south are so oppressed that they do not yet show any signs of national awakening.

(Exhibit WK-11b)

question. Inside is a drawing which indicates what part of the United States would be included in the so-called Negro Republic of the South. I believe you have a copy of that drawing, probably the same drawing you have there, in a book, **The Negro Question In The United States**, by another theoretician of the party. He is white—Harry Haywood is a Negro. Now, there is on page 155 of **Negro Liberation** a part I would like to read into the record. This book is published by **International Publishers** which is a—this is 1948—which is a Moscow subsidized publishing house operating in New York City. It is a a part of what is known as Soviet State Publishers. On page 155 it says the following on this question of Negro Nationalism:

"This growing sense of nationhood has been most dramatically expressed in the appeals of the National Negro Congress and of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations. Dubois, in his introduction to the N.A.A.C.P. appeal, writes:

" 'The United Nations surely will not forget that the population of the group (the Negroes) makes it in size one of the considerable nations of the world. We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandinavia including Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Romania and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethopia, Hungary, or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium, and half as many as Spain. In sheer numbers then we are a group which has a right to be heard; and while we rejoice that other smaller nations can stand and make their wants known in the United Nations, we maintain equally that our voice should not be suppressed or ignored.' "

In other words, in this petition to which Dubois writes an introduction, the petition is entered in the name of the N.A.A.C.P. The claim is set up that the Negro in the United States should be recognized as a national group in the councils of the United Nations, which, I believe, indicates the influence of the doctrine of racial nationalism in the N.A.A.C.P.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Do you wish that introduced, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Yes, Page 155.

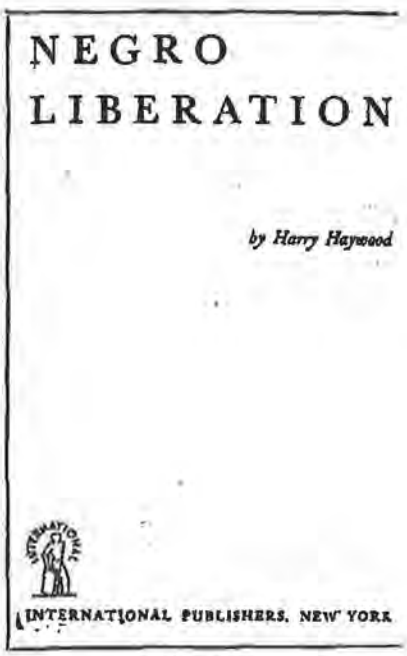
MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence to the committee and ask that it be marked WK-12 and ask permission to substitute photostatic copies of excerpts which have been read into the record. (See pages 93, 94, 95)

A. Now, I am here going to read from a book by William Z. Foster, the Chairman of the Communist Party, also published by **International Publishers**, like the other book—from page 253. The original of the book is available. I am just reading a quotation from it:

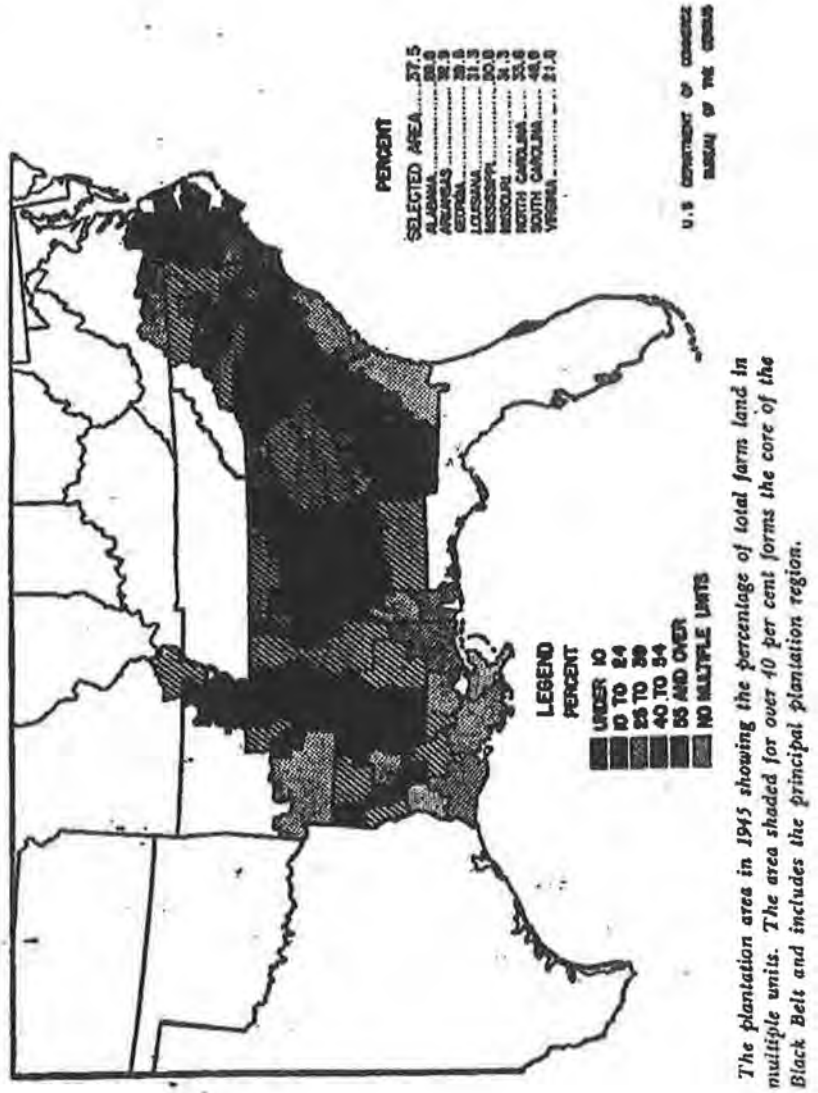
"Communist action is based upon the slogan 'class against class' that is, the working class against the capitalist class. This slogan expresses the elemantary fighting policy of the revolutionary movement. In applying it, the Communist Party actively promotes the mass organization of the workers, regardless of political opinion."

Now, it comes to the part on the Negro, which is on page 302-304, quote:

"The Communist Party alone of all political parties, fights for liberation of the Negro, both in the present day struggle and as an ultimate goal. The American Soviet Government immediately after it takes form will be a shattering blow to the whole monstrous Jim Crowism. To destroy it ruthlessly will be one of the real joys of the victorious proletarian revolution. Every remnant of slavery will be abolished. In a Soviet system the Negro will have the most complete equality, economically, politically, socially. The doors to every occupation, to every social activity will be wide open to him. He will have ample land confiscated from the great white landlords. He will be free to do and go as any other citizen, without lack or hindrance. Attempts to maintain the capitalist white favoritism and ostracism of the Negroes will be punished as a serious crime against society."



(WK-12a)



The plantation area in 1945 showing the percentage of total farm land in multiple units. The area shaded for over 40 per cent forms the core of the Black Belt and includes the principal plantation region.

(Exhibit WK-12b)

and strengthening the wellsprings of national consciousness. The Negro masses want equality, and increasingly feel that they can and must achieve it as a people in their own right. The emergence of new mass forces and influences, spearheaded by a rapidly maturing Negro industrial working class, has proved decisive in this development.

This growing sense of nationhood has been most dramatically expressed in the appeals of the National Negro Congress and of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the United Nations. DuBois, in his introduction to the N.A.A.C.P. appeal, writes:

> "The United Nations surely will not forget that the population of this group [the Negroes] makes it in size one of the considerable nations of the world. We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandinavia including Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary, or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium and half as many as Spain. In sheer numbers then we are a group which has a right to be heard; and while we rejoice that other smaller nations can stand and make their wants known in the United Nations, we maintain equally that our voice should not be suppressed or ignored."[12]

Despite the weak growth of national consciousness among Negroes, the road ahead for the Negro people in the United States points to the further, accelerated development of national aspirations. The experiences of World War II, in which the Negro people made great sacrifices in the common struggle against fascist aggression, only provided new evidence that the Negro was suffering from a distinct form of national oppression. The post-war period multiplied the evidence a thousand-fold. Instead of being followed by an unprecedented extension and

(Exhibit WK-12c)

Then, a paragraph further down of the same chapter, quote:

"Accordingly, the right of self determination will apply to Negroes in the American Soviet system. In the so-called 'black belt' of the South, where the Negroes are in the majority, they will have the fullest right to govern themselves and also to govern such white minority as may live in this section. The same principle will apply to all colonial and semi-colonial people now dominated by American imperialism in Cuba, the Philippines, in Central and South America, etc."

Now one more—I could, of course, go on and on—there's so much literature on this subject that one could go on and on. I only want to quote a few pieces to show that what I have said on the subject is corroborated by the Communist literature. This is from a book by James S. Allen—his real name is Soloman Orbach—also published by **International Publishers**, the title of which is **The Negro Question in the United States.** I will just quote this part. Let's see what page it is. From page 178, quote:

"To realize the right of self determination in the 'black belt' is to realize democracy in the South. But this is connected with a change in the basic structure of southern society.

"Any real, basic, complete transformation of the plantation economy can come about only as a result of an agrarian revolution in the South. We have already discussed the factors which are maturing this revolution, which are propelling the farming masses toward rebellion against plantation overlords. The plantation is situated precisely in the area where the Negroes have the majority of the population. The confiscation of the landed estates and the realization of the primary agrarian aims of the revolution would give rise to new political institutions carrying with them the fullest democracy for the masses of the people. A real democratic transformation in the black belt, in the plantation area, would mean, first of all, that the Negroes, hitherto excluded from democracy, would now in fact be the very carriers of the widest democracy. There is no better assurance of such complete democracy than that the Negroes are today the most oppressed of all the South and that they constitute the chief revolutionary sector of the plantation populace. During the Reconstruction period, those who have been freed from chattel slavery were the most vigorous proponents of bourgeois democracy, demanding and fighting for the whole range of democratic rights. With the tremendous social power released by an agrarian revolution and directed into conscious channels by a proletariat there can be no doubt of the tremendous role that will be played by the Negro peasant masses in uprooting the semi-feudal institution of the South completely, basically and irrevocably."

End of quote. Now, this gives you the part about the Negro republic rapidly—"in harmony," of course, as usual, but "full of democracy" and so on and so forth.

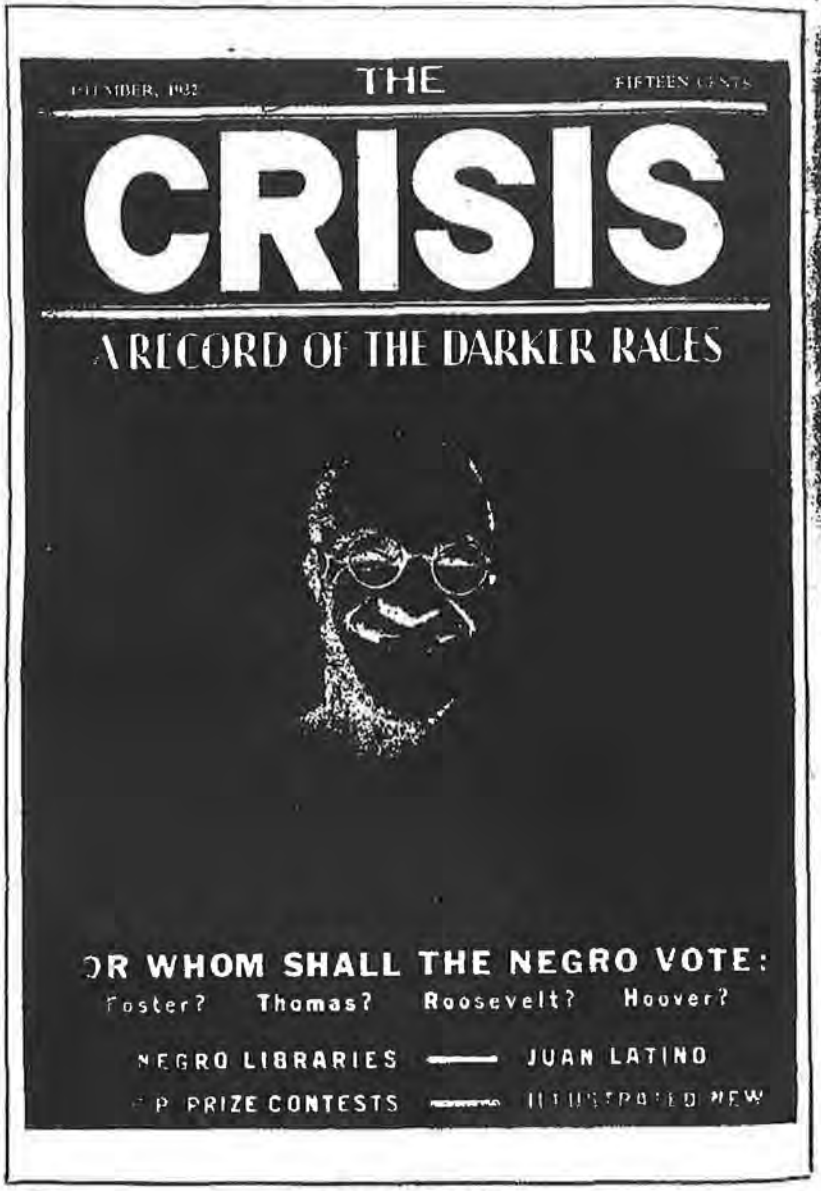
MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, the witness has read this into the record, and we have a copy which is not the original. We will not offer it in evidence but will submit it for the reporter to check the quotation.

A. Now, there's one more item I'd like to introduce, photostats of **The Crisis**, official organ of the N.A.A.C.P., for the purpose of indicating that this journal accepted Communist writing as part of the articles appearing in it. Here is an issue of **The Crisis** of September, 1932, in which there is published—the one who was then editor was DuBois—in which, on the pretense of publishing the platforms of the various parties running for office, they also published the platform of the Communist Party of the United States, and that party is treated for the purposes in my opinion, as a cover up, as if it were a major

WITNESS: JOSEPH KORNFEDER

political party in the United States. There is the whole Communist Party election program which is throughout, of course, Communist propaganda and doctrine.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence and ask that it be marked WK-13 for identification. (See page 97)



(Exhibit WK-13)

A. Here is another issue of **The Crisis**, March, 1938. It's a front cover in which there are advertised a number of articles, one entitled "For Peace and Democracy" by Harry F. Ward. Harry F. Ward is one of the best known personalities in the field of penetration of religious denominations. He has written a great deal, has been a member of—well, the last list of fronts I have seen, I think there is about 116 fronts, has followed the party line through all the zig-zags throughout the years. He's writing — he's featured in this issue of **The Crisis**.

Then, there is another one, George Padmore, who writes on "Fascism in the West Indies." Now George Padmore is a British Negro Communist who quit the Communist Party, I think about 1934 or '35, but at the time when he wrote this, he still had the Communist ideology in his head. Whether he ever divested himself of it, I don't know. These are two prominent writers, and their articles appear in this issue.

MR. SHAW: I ask that this be marked WK-14 and submitted in evidence. (See page 99)

A. Then, I would like to submit for evidence another issue of **The Crisis**, the book recommendation section of 1944 in which there are marked a number of authors whose books are recommended to the readers of **The Crisis**. I have not made a full check of it and there are other names, and hence, if I may suggest, I would like to make a more complete check of those names later, but here there are indicated four authors.

MR. SHAW: I ask that this be introduced and be marked WK-15, Mr. Chairman. (See page 100)

A. Now here is another issue of **The Crisis**, the book recommendation section of February, 1956, in which there appear a number of authors who are known to be Communists or fellow travelers, and there are some others whom I have not checked, so I would request permission for the same thing as with the other exhibit.

MR. SHAW: I ask that this be marked WK-16 and be submitted subject to the witness' request to later add identification. (See page 101)

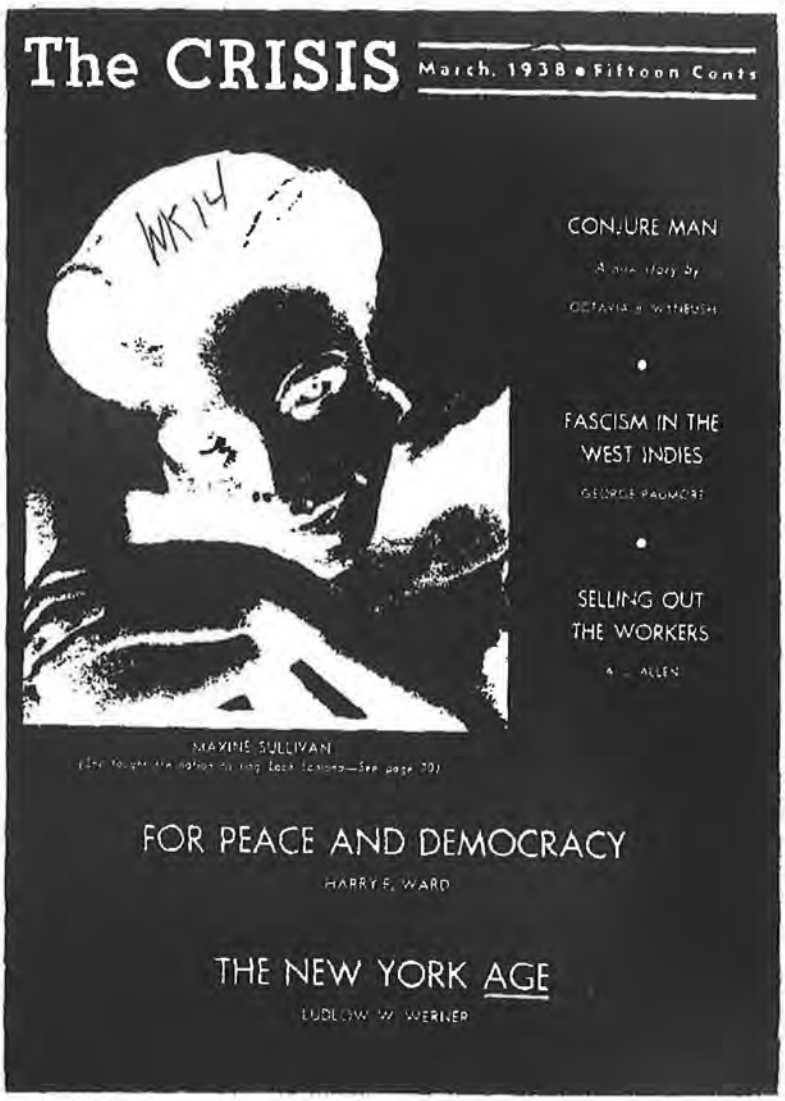
A. Now, in connection with the item that appeared in the questions and answers relating to the international aspect of Negro nationalism, racial nationalism, as propagated by the Communists, both here and elswhere and coordinated by the Council on African Affairs, I'd like to introduce an item in the New York **Times** of August 8, 1954.

MR. SHAW: I ask that this be marked WK-17, Mr. Chairman. (See page 102)

A. And for the same purpose, another item in the New York **Times** of June 7, 1946.

MR. SHAW: I ask that this be marked WK-18 for identification. (See page 103)

A. And, finally, I would like to introduce as an exhibit a typical racial incitation leaflet issued directly by the Communist Party, in this case the Communist Party of Illinois, signed by Claude Lightfoot, Chairman—the same Claude Lightfoot whom I mentioned as having been in the Lenin School while I was there.



(Exhibit WK-14

RUST COLLEGE
L. M. McCoy, Pres. Holly Springs, Miss.

1882 LANE COLLEGE 1944
JACKSON, TENNESSEE

TOUGALOO COLLEGE

BOOKS ABOUT NEGROES

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES 1800-1865 ... $3.00
by Joseph Carroll
SOJOURNER TRUTH, God's Faithful Pilgrim ... 1.00
by Arthur Huff Fauset
FROM CAPTIVITY TO FAME, The Story of George A. Carver ... 1.00
by Zaidee H. Martin
BLACK FOLK, Then and Now, History of Negro Race ... 3.50
by W. E. B. DuBois
NEGROES IN OUR HISTORY ... 4.25
by Carter G. Woodson
SHAKESPEARE'S ALL ... 2.00
by Lu Ce A Reid and Arthur Roper
SEX AND RACE, Vol. ... 3.00
by J. A. Rogers
100 AMAZING FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO ... .50
by J. A. Rogers
THE LOST CITY ... 2.50
by Courtney Cullen
NEGRO FOLK TALES FOR CHILDREN IN PRIMARY GRADES ... .25
NEGRO ART HOURS AND RHYME FOR YOUNG FOLKS ... 1.12
by Helen Adele Whitted
THE GLORIOUS STORY OF THE NEGRO ... 1.65
by Julia P. Stockbridge
FOR MY PEOPLE ... 1.00
by Margaret Walker
BEST STORIES OF PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR ... 2.50
by Benjamin Brawley
CONJURE WOMAN ... 2.00
by Chas Lorrimore Chesnutt
THE MYTH OF THE NEGRO PAST ... 4.00
by Melville J. Herskovits
MARIAN ANDERSON ... 4.50
by Rosa Yakemans
IT WAS NOT MY WORLD ... 4.00
by Frederick Jenkins
NEW WORLD A-COMING Inside Black America ... 3.00
by Roi Ottley
HEZEKIAH HORTON Story for Children ... 1.00
by Elias Terry
13 MILLION BLACK VOICES ... 2.00
by Richard Wright
GOD'S TROMBONES ... 2.50
by J. W. Johnson
NEGROES IN BRAZIL ... 4.50
by Donald Pierson
AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS ... 4.50
by Herbert Aptheker
NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS IN THE U. S. ... .15
NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ... .15
NEGRO IN THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT ... .15
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N.Y. Times WK 17

SUNDAY, AUGUST 8, 1954.

REDS GUIDE FIGHT ON MALAN RACISM

Heads of Once-Banned South African Party Win Control Over Negro-Indian Bloc

Special to The New York Times.

PRETORIA, South Africa, Aug. 7—Moses Kotani, secretary general of the South African Communist party before it was banned in 1951, has become chairman of a confidential committee set up to guide the resistance of the principal Negro and South African Indian organizations to Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan's racialism.

The committee puts the finishing touches to a painstaking organizational effort by which the leadership of the former public Communist party has gained control of the inter-racial front formed here to combat segregation and racial inequality.

The committee that now guides the campaign to obtain a greater measure of justice for South African Negroes and Indians—if necessary, by open resistance to the law—is the confidential steering committee of the New National Action Council of the Congress of the People.

This is an organization formed during the last six months by the Negro African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, together with one small white and one equally small Cape Colored (mixed blood) Communist front organization, to create a united front fight for racial equality.

The vice chairman of the new confidential committee is reported to be Y. M. Dadoo, a former member of the Central Committee of the Legal Communist party. Mr. Dadoo is president of the South African Indian Congress.

Mr. Kotani, who, formerly, was probably the most influential member of the Executive of the African National Congress, was ordered by the Ministry of Justice to desist from participation in Congress affairs under the Suppression of Communism Act. Another member of the committee was also a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party before its dissolution. The six other members of the committee either were members of the Legal Communist party before it was dissolved or were known as fellow travelers.

The existence of the steering committee has not been made public, as has the existence of the recently created National Action Council, which, in effect, cannot act except as a passive instrument of its four-member organizations and actually is controlled by the confidential steering committee.

This consolidation and centralization of control of the Negro and Indian struggle against white Nationalist racialism in Communist hands is the result of a long and successful infiltration effort.

The great majority of the members of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress have no knowledge of the extent to which the Communists have moved into key posts. Where the facts are known the Communists are accepted as inevitable allies in the fight against racial inequality.

The president and one of the two vice presidents of the South African Indian Congress were regular and card-carrying members of the former legal Communist party, as well as seven members of the executive committee, forming a complete majority of the committee.

So far as its leadership is concerned, the South African Indian Congress, accordingly, is a Communist organization and is openly proclaimed to be such by conservative Indian business and professional men in Durban. However, it has the support of the great mass of politically conscious Indians in South Africa.

The national leadership of the African National Congress is less Communist infiltrated. Only four out of seventeen members of its executive committee were regular members of the legal Communist party.

The secretary general of the African National Congress, Walter Sisulu, led a delegation of congress members to a Red youth rally and other Communist countries last year. He was himself a guest at Communist formal celebrations in Moscow and Peiping.

The new African National Congress uniform resembles those worn by Communist factory groups in Central Europe. These became familiar when the Communists of Czechoslovakia were crushing the students' resistance to the Communists seizure of power there.

Communist infiltration in the Transvaal executive of the African National Congress has given the Communists control of the organization in the most important province of South Africa, which contains the largest Negro industrialized proletariat in Africa.

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(Exhibit WK-17)

June 7, 1946

THE NEW YORK TIMES

COLONIAL EMPIRES ASSAILED IN RALLY

Communist-Controlled Council Says U. S. Aids Others in 'Plundering' Africa

The Truman Administration was accused last night of "helping to bolster up crumbling European empires in Asia and the Middle East," of defeating the cause of freedom for African colonial peoples, and of "striking a blow against the American peoples themselves."

In a meeting at Madison Square Garden of 15,000 persons, sponsored by the Council on African Affairs—a Communist-controlled organization supported mainly by Negroes—President Truman was called upon to "direct our State Department and our representatives in the United Nations" to employ "this country's great power and influence" to meet the following four demands:

1. To work for peace rather than war.
2. To foster the relations on "friendly and constructive international relations charted and pursued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt."
3. To translate into immediate action "pledges of democratic rights and self-determination for all peoples."
4. To "welcome" colonial peoples into the United Nations family.

"Plundering" Is Decried

Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the Council who is also president of the National Negro Congress, said "it can not be denied that Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Italy and the Government of the Union of South Africa, have been and are the plunderers of Africa." He charged that "colonial imperialism stands indicted before the bar of world opinion today."

Dr. Yergan called upon all Americans to unite in the demand that "colonialism—that bankrupt, plundering and wasteful system of the past—be done away with," and replaced by "a new relation, amongst the peoples of the earth...characterized by dignity," and people act of putting a stop to [illegible] working for the welfare of all [illegible] people.

In a speech prepared for R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, was posed the question, "Can we expect the [illegible] Senators who have taken orders [illegible] from Wall Street to become [illegible]

AT THE SHRINE OF REMEMBRANCE



A father and son, veterans of both World Wars, paying their tribute during the observance of Anzac Day in Melbourne.

[illegible] the granting of rights to African labor likewise were demanded.

Resolutions that described the Dominion of South Africa as the "bulwark of imperialist oppression of the African people" were adopted. These demanded:

1. Abolition of pass laws for blacks, residential restrictions, color bar and restricted land ownership.
2. Investigation of racial discrimination in South Africa by the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.
3. Refusal by the United States and U. N. to agree to the annexation of former German colonies by the Union of South Africa.
4. Inclusion of South Africa in all plans to relieve starvation that are sponsored by the United States Government.

(Exhibit WK-18)

MR. SHAW: I ask that this be marked WK-19 for identification. (See page 104)

BY MR. KORNFEDER: Well, there is of course, plenty more, but I think it best not to clutter up the record. These are just to corroborate what has been said in the course of answering questions. The actual volume of literature produced by the Communists addressed to the Negro, as compared with the literature of the other Negro organizations, is like 2 to 1. The Communists issued more prapaganda to the Negroes than the other Negro organizations put together.

IN MISSISSIPPI — UNION BUSTING AND LYNCHING GO HAND IN HAND

(Exhibit WK-19)



INDUSTRIES - Move to MISSISSIPPI
Low Wages - Low Taxes - NO Unions
Workers who work hard and do just as they are told.

This is a sample of advertising by the state of Mississippi, inviting corporations from other states to "run away" from decent wages and union contracts.

HERE'S HOW THE MISSISSIPPI BOSSES DO IT:

In the last few months --

- Emmett Till, 14 year old Negro boy, visiting Mississippi from Chicago, brutally murdered.
- Lamar Smith, shot down on the court-house lawn of Bronkhaven, Mississippi.
- Rev. George W. Lee, murdered on the main street of Belzoni, Mississippi.
- Scores of death-threats warning Negroes not to vote or oppose segregation.

Through MURDER, intimidation, black-listing, union busting, and poll-taxes, the powers that be in the South try to keep the Negroes "down". They reached the all time low in the lynching of a Negro child.

The reign of terror against Negroes in the South is not accidental. Big business has a big profit stake in maintaining racial discrimination -- and its by-product, THE SOUTHERN WAGE DIFFERENTIAL. Racial segregation is the foundation for big business control of every branch of government.

All LABOR, North and South, will pay a heavy price unless the terror against the Negro people is stopped. Cheap labor, no unions, and run-away shops are the result. Let there be no mistake, with stakes of billions of dollars of bloody profits, the racists will not give up without a fight.

The murder of Emmett Till was not just an isolated, horrible crime. It is not only an attack on the Negro people. It is ALSO a blow against all labor -- Negro and white. The murderers of this child must be forced to pay the full price for their heinous deed.

● ● ●

But these sadists are not the only ones responsible. Gov. Hugh White and the Mississippi authorities, too, have Emmett Till's blood on their hands. They gave the child lynchers every reason to believe that they could "get away with it". Gov. White, Senator Eastland, and their dixiecrat pals like Shivers, Byrnes, and Talmage, have defied the Supreme Court and threatened those who demand that the laws of the U.S. be enforced. They have encouraged the Ku Klux Klan and the "White Citizens Councils" to launch a reign of terror. They are the architects of the "scab "right to work" laws, the anti-union injunctions and ordinances, and the organized strike-breaking in the South.

These dixiecrat scab-herders are the enemies of the Negro people -- and the enemies of all working people.

● ● ●

Att'y General Herbert Brownell is ALSO RESPONSIBLE for the murder of Emmett Till. The 14th and 15th Amendments make it his duty, as the chief enforcement officer of the federal Government, to protect the rights of the Negro people in the South. But Brownell has not moved a finger to bring a single racist terrorist to justice. He can find justification for indicting the CAW for political motion, for trying to destroy the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, for stopping the Kohler strikers from picketing scab shipments. But he claims he has no authority to enforce the Constitution in Mississippi.

America, and the world, have their eyes on Washington. How long will the "Cadillac" administration continue to protect the dixiecrats. How long can they talk about "democracy" in other parts of the world, and permit democracy to be lynched in Mississippi?

- ENFORCE THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS!
- DEMAND THE FEDERAL PROSECUTION OF THE KU KLUX LYNCHERS AND THEIR ACCOMPLICES -- THE MISSISSIPPI OFFICIALS!
- CALL UPON PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO DISMISS ATT'Y GENERAL BROWNELL!
- END THE DISGRACE OF RACISM AND JIM CROW! PASS THE FEDERAL F.E.P.C.!
- END THE "RIGHT TO SCAB LAWS" AND UNION BUSTING IN THE SOUTH!

Issued by Communist Party of Illinois - Indiana, Claude Lightfoot, Chairman
Old Post Office Box 1132, Chicago, Illinois Elmer Benstead

MR. SHAW: Do you have anything further you wish to offer the committee, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. No, Sir.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that the exhibits 11 through 19 be made a part of the official records of this committee. Are there any further questions from the members of the committee? If there are no further questions, the Chair has only one question to ask to conclude the examination of this witness. In yesterday's executive hearings the witness testified as to the extent that this Communist conspiracy has penetrated the publications of newspapers, and magazines, and so forth, and pamphlets directed to the Negroes and published by the Negro fronts in this country. I would like for the witness to repeat his testimony on that subject. I believe that he stated that two-thirds, or some percentage, of all the literature published in the United States for Negro consumption was Communist literature.

A. Yes, two-thirds. When I say two-thirds, I speak about the field in this sense—books, booklets and pamphlets. The Communists author books, booklets and pamphlets on the Negro question. There is nothing comparable published from any other source. When I say "other source," I mean other Negro organizations. And furthermore, what is important in this case is not only the volume—that is, the large quantity—which, as I said, is more than all the other Negro organizations; but of importance is that the Communist literature concentrates on a number of basic ideas which they hammer into the mind of the reader. It's a concentrated, compact package which plays the same music in various tunes constantly. Even if the Communist literature would not be two-thirds, but only one-third, it would still have the advantage over all the others, because the literature written by the others scatters its shots in a hundred different directions, whereas the Communist literature just hammers away along the same basic lines constantly one year after the other—the same as they, of course, do in meetings and in articles, and on every other occasion. It's the concentration in this case that is even more important than the numbers, even though the numbers also, as far as the literature, exceed the others. That tells in itself even a bigger story than anything else as far as ideological infiltration is concerned in this particular field.

SENATOR RAINACH: Mr. Kornfeder, on behalf of the committee, the Chair would like to express our official appreciation to you for coming here from Detroit to present this interesting history of the conspiracy that, from your testimony, we feel originated in the offices of Stalin himself and which has resulted in the acceptance of the Communist doctrine of racial nationalism by a serious percentage of the Negro population of this country—which acceptance is posing a threat in the form of a move toward eventual Communist control of this nation and the overthrow of our Government as we now know it.

I would also like to express on behalf of the committee our appreciation for the testimony of Mr. Guy Banister of New Orleans. We appreciate your coming here and presenting the history of your experience in combating Communism in the F.B.I., your estimation

of the problem in the City of New Orleans and in the State of Louisiana. We assure you that this committee will work evermore closely with you in solving those problems. If there's no further matter to come before the committee at this time, the meeting is adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:00 A.M.

— WITNESS EXCUSED —

HEARINGS OF LOUISIANA JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, MARCH 8, 1957, 10:00 A.M. IN THE COURT OF APPEALS, FOURTH FLOOR, LOUISIANA STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA.

SENATOR RAINACH: The meeting will come to order and the Secretary will call the roll.

ROLL CALL BY THE SECRETARY:

PRESENT: W. M. Shaw (General Counsel)
Sen. W. M. Rainach
Rep. Ford E. Stinson
Rep. E. W. Gravolet, Jr.
Rep. John S. Garrett
Rep. L. D. Napper
Sen. H. W. Jones
Rep. Carroll Dupont
Sen. L. H. Folse

ABSENT: Sen. A. L. Stewart
Sen. Alvin T. Stumpf

SENATOR RAINACH: We have eight present and a qurom. The hearings yesterday developed the following: Mr. Banister's testimony developed that the country of Russia has historically planned to conquer the continent of Europe and Asia and to dominate the world. He developed that this was true under the czars, and it was carried forward to a more successful stage under the Communist control of Russia. The next witness, Joseph Kornfeder, developed that the Communists instituted a systematic plan to promote Communism in every country of the world, that the orders came from Joseph Stalin himself, in the Kremlin, to penetrate this country and to use as their principal agents the colored people and the unions of this country. The witness further developed the details by which Premier Stalin's orders were brought to this country and were carried forward into the various organizations that were used as their principal agents, particularly the development of a great Communist influence within the NAACP. We have as witnesses today parties who will carry the Communist plan from that point forward into the southern region of the United States, and I believe even into the State of Louisiana itself. The General Counsel will produce the first witness, identify him, and have him sworn in.

State of La. - March 7, 1957 - Baton Rouge, La.

WITNESS: LEONARD PATTERSON Cottonterry 107

THE WITNESS, LEONARD PATTERSON, BEING SWORN TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH, SO HELP HIM GOD, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

Born in N.C. U.S.A.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Would you please state your name and spell it for the record.

A. My name is Leonard Patterson. L-e-o-n-a-r-d P-a-t-t-e-r-s-o-n.

Q. Where do you live?

A. I live in Jamaica, Long Island, New York City.

Born Feb. 6, 1906

Q. You are not a resident of Louisiana?

W. Va. 0440

A. No sir.

Q. I will ask you if you were subpoenaed to appear at these proceedings?

A. Yes sir, I was.

Q. Would you state to the Committee in your own words what you told me as to your reasons for appearing at this hearing?

A. After I received the subpoena, on my own free will and accord, I agreed to appear here at these hearings as a result of personal convictions that I would be able to contribute something in combating Communist influence in antagonizing and utilizing racial problems and creating racial strifes. I am not here to get involved in any local situation. I am not interested in that. My problems are in New York where I live. That's where I have my voting privileges and where I live—make my living. But anything that this committee wants from me regarding Communist infiltration, Communism utilizing the Negro people for its own selfish gains or utilizing Negro people as a part of its general revolutionary scheme for the overthrow of the American government by force and violence and replacing it with a Soviet form of government in the United States, I am open to any questions that you might ask me.

Q. How old are you?

A. I am now 51. I was 51 as of February 6, 1957.

Q. Where were you born?

A. I was born in the State of North Carolina in the County of Wayne.

Q. Would you relate to the committee your early history preceding your joining the Communist Party?

A. I was born as the son of farmers in North Carolina. I went to school in both North Carolina and Petersburg, Virginia. I went to grade schools in both states. I never had any trouble in either one of those states, neither Virginia or North Carolina. I worked in Petersburg, Virginia, at the Petersburg Hotel. I worked in the box factories when I was young, around the age of 14 or 15. Prior to that I worked on the farm of my parents. In 1923 I left Petersburg, Virginia, and went to Old Sweet Springs, West Virginia, as a bus boy with the steward. I worked there until the summer season was over, and then I went to Hot Springs, Virginia, to the Homestead Hotel and worked there as a bus boy until after Thanksgiving, and then I joined my close relatives in New York City in the latter part of 1923.

In New York City I worked at various jobs. I worked as a bootblack in barber shops. I worked as porter, and I worked in the factories, and at the same time I was trying to educate myself the best I could on my own while I was working. In 1928 I happened to

be looking for a job. I was out of a job. I think it was approximately the month of March or February, in '28, and I saw a sign 'Bootblack Wanted' and I walked up on the second floor to the barbershop at 26-28 Union Square, New York City. And I was told that the job was open and that I could have the job. So I began to work, and customers would come in, and I would take their coats and hang them up and wanted to brush them off and they said, "No sir, we don't do this here! No sir, this is a Communist barbershop." I said "Communist barbershop. Oh, you're the Reds?" I said, "You are dangerous." They said, "No, we are for the Negro people and we are for labor." And they began to give me the program from the first day on. The second day they began to tell me and I said, "Well, that's all good." I said, "I'm for improvement of my condition and I'm for labor." They said, "But, we don't believe in any God. We don't believe in any religion." So I said, "Well, I'm very religious and I believe in religion."

So, for the next 2 or 3 months it was daily concentration upon me to try to get me into the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, or into the American Negro Labor Congress, or some form of Communist organization. But I stuck it out. I didn't care to begin to weaken. I couldn't see the fact that there was no God. I believe in religion. So it went on, and so the manager of the barbershop—he made a bet with me. And, as any American will do, you take up a bet. He said, "If you go to the Communist worker's school and take a term, the barbershop will pay all the expenses. And I'll bet you that you will join the Communist movement when you are completed." I said, "That's a bet." So, I went. And I took that course, and I took another course, and before I finished I was a member of the Communist wing. I was indoctrinated by the Communist ideology.

But, what moved me more closely to make up my mind was approximately the month of May or June, 1928, when the Communist Party wanted to demonstrate it was the champion of the rights of the Negro people. About 3 white Communists and about 3 colored Communists went into a restaurant that did not cater to Negroes. And they went in to create a scene, and the manager told them, "We do not cater to Negroes." That's all they wanted—they walked out orderly. The next day they had a picket line, and they came to me and said, "You're a Negro. Otto Hall is going to picket. Harry Williams is going to picket. Eddie Wilson is going to picket. They're Negroes. And here's some whites going to fight your battle. Are you too cowardly to fight for your own self?" I said, "O.K." So, I took a sign, and I went out and joined them in the picket line, too, and we all were arrested, held a couple of hours and dismissed. But I illustrate that to show that they were determined to get me into the Communist movement, even to the extent of creating a racial issue that would never have existed. That's just one of the main examples I will try to tell this committee before I leave here today.

After that, I joined the Young Communist League in September of 1928, and I was assigned to the Harlem branch. I remained a member of the Young Communist League, and I joined the American

Negro Labor Congress and the International Labor Defense. They just had me in everything. I was still going to Communist school. In 1929, approximately the month of March, or latter part of February, I attended the Communist Party's 6th National Convention as an observer, as an observer with delegates from the United States, Canada, Great Britian, and two representatives from the Communist International. I heard the speeches, and all of that was to try to strengthen my ideas about the Communist movement. That latter part of March I attended—I was elected a delegate to the district convention of the Young Communist League in the New York district in New York City, which I attended—participated in the convention. At that convention I was elected as delegate to the national convention of the Young Communist League. That was held the latter part of April and the first of May during the year of 1929. This national convention was held in New York City, and delegates came from as far south as Texas and all over the United States, Canada, and representatives from Young Communists International in Great Britian.

I'd like to pause right here while I'm giving part of my personal history and give you just one specific example. While at this national convention of the Young Communist League in 1929, — that year — I remember it very well, the Communist Party had brought in—the Young Communist League had brought in, representatives and delegates for the first time to a Communist convention from the south. The Communist Party sent organizers, white and colored, to Gastonia, North Carolina. They were successful in leading a textile strike. I guess some of you all remember that. During that textile strike in 1929 there were men killed as a result of the Communist-created incidents and situations there. I don't want to go into details. You can check it from the papers. Back in Gastonia, North Carolina, it is well known. Communist cells were set up. Members of the Young Communist League were sent down to teach Communism to the children —in the person of Sophie Melvin, now known as Sophie Gerson, the wife of the Gerson that the Smith Act trial in New York couldn't find fault with. Another one by the name of Otto Hall, a Negro that was graduated from the Lenin school in Moscow, Russia, was sent down by the party to organize Negroes in the strike and create trouble. Fred Beale, another Communist Party organizer, operated under the auspices of the National Textile Workers Industrial Union, which was a Communist Party-organized, led, dominated, supervised union. As a result of that, as I said, some people got killed.

The Communist Party sent—I think it was around 5 or 6 of them went to Russia to escape the penalty—Fred Beale, Red Hendricks, and some others. Now, what is significant about this? This is the first time that the Communist Party penetrated the south, and it went into the south to create trouble. I mean, facts speak for themselves, gentlemen. Facts speak for themselves. And for the first time delegates—Sophie Melvin, Lydia—I forget the other one—from the Young Communist League came from the south to attend the Communist convention—official representatives.

Q. At this point I want to ask you to explain something to the com-

mittee. The Young Communist League is a separate organization in a sense—not the same as the Communist Party, is it?

A. No, the Young Communist League is part and parcel of the Communist Party.

Q. You can be a member of one without being a member of the other. Is that correct?

A. Well, let me just go into it. The Young Communist League was a Communist Party organization formed for youth. Whereas the young people would not like to—every young person, say, would not like to be a member of the Communist Party because he wants to be among the young adults, the young people. He had the same principles, same program. The program of the Young Communist League was the Communist Party program for the youth. All leading members had simultaneously to be members of the Communist Party, so that the Communist Party would have direct control and best of leadership in the Young Communist League.

Now, some of us stayed in the Young Communist League a long time. I stayed in until 1935. At the same time I held a membership in the Communist Party. The majority of the present-day Smith Act people that have been convicted, and those that are leading the Communist Party today, are formerly Young Communist League members who worked together with me on the National Committee and the National Bureau, and some attended sessions in Russia in the school. I will go into these later on if I have time.

So, there's no line of demarcation between the Young Communist League and the Communist Party—it was just the Communist Party youth organization. We had what you call semi-organizational economics, but all the political line was the line of the Communist Party — district convention and national convention. This line was laid down by representatives of the Central Committee. All major decisions were approved by the Section, District, and Central Committees of the Communist Party from bottom up to the top. So, there was no difference between them. Once you were a member of the Young Communist League you were a full-fledged member, and if you were in the Young Communist League and passed your 18th birthday—we will emphasize this, please—you were forced to join the Communist Party and hold membership in both, although you paid your dues in the Young Communist League.

Q. When did you join the party as such?

A. About July, 1930, and I joined that under discipline. I was satisfied with the Young Communist League, but I escaped it as long as I could, and I had to definitely join the party.

Q. What was your age at this time in 1930?

A. Let's see—I was born in 1906—24. And when I left the Young Communist League for exclusive party work, it was 1935, so that was another 5 years. Let me try to move on now, get back briefly to Gastonia, North Carolina. This gave the party the first roots in the southern states, and its organizers and its utopian theories which I will give just a little later on. At this national convention of the Young Communist League I was elected a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League. This is

the highest governing body of the Young Communist League. And, to state here, I was re-elected at every convention until I left in 1935.

After indoctrination in 1929, I believe it was around August, I was sent to Cleveland, Ohio, a self-made delegate to the Communist Party Trade Union Unity League convention, where the Communist Party set up its trade union unity league—in other words, that's a trade union Communist center in the United States. I don't want to go into details on that. And after that was over, I was assigned to the National Training School in Cleveland, Ohio, for a period of 6-8 weeks. I finished that. I was assigned to the Chicago district for the Young Communist League, and in Chicago I was a member of the district committee of the Young Communist League—was a member of the Communist Party District Negro Committee, even though I was still not officially a member of the Communist Party. I had a voice and vote, by virtue of my membership in the Young Communist League and chairmanship of their district youth Negro committee, and I worked in the Illinois district until January or the latter part of 1929.

A member of the party almost created a lynching of himself. This is another event that just came to my mind. Down in El Dorado, southern Illinois, on the border of Kentucky, there was a miners' strike down there, and there was a coal miners' strike there in 1929. You can check this again with me. I don't have the papers now, but the facts can be verified. Harry Williams, a Negro that was the Communist Party district Negro director, and myself was sent down there on that strike where there was no Negro strikers whatsoever. We wasn't coal miners. We wasn't members of the trade union. We had nothing to do with it. And one lady told us, said, "You all didn't have no business down there." Said, "The last Negro that was down there, they left him hanging on a tree." Now this was the truth. Harry Williams said he was out there directing the pickets on the picket line and telling them what to do, and said one of the miners said, "Go out there and run him away from here, please. He has no business here."

So, we hitch-hiked back to St. Louis, and then we got to Chicago somehow, and we reported this incident back to the party and showed them that that was only antagonizing them—Negro miners, white miners, Negro people, white people. Such incidents as this would do nothing but aggravate any situation, and would do nothing to promote good feeling between both races, but we was overruled. Let me move on, now.

Q. I want to ask you something here because I think we should bring it up. You said that one of the things that deterred you from joining originally was your religion. What happened to your religion during this time that you've just covered here?

A. Well, like any other Communist, you've got to indoctrinate them. I forgot about it. I accepted the Communist Party atheist theory on religion, although deep down in my heart I still believed it, but I hid it. I reported back to New York and I was assigned work again in New York, and I became a member of the National Bureau of the Young Communist League, and in charge of the National

Negro Committee of the Young Communist League, and a member of the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party. I remained in that position until July, 1930. In June, 1930, I was a delegate—official delegate—to the 7th National Convention of the Communist Party held in New York City. I was official delegate with a voice and vote, participated in the convention, spoke at the convention, and here at this convention the party raised the slogan of "Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the South," which I expect to deal with more at length. It raised the question of confiscating the land of the white land owners and giving it to the Negroes —disregarding whether it belonged to Negroes, whether it belonged to whites, whether it had been for generations and generations in a white family, or whether or not the Negro sold his land to the white landowner. The party said we stand for the right of self-determination of the Negroes, the right to set up their own government, separate government, decide its relationships with all governments in the world, including the United States, particularly the United States. I will quote from all that after a while. Show you documentary evidence. At this convention I took the floor, and I fought that. Born in North Carolina, raised in North Carolina and Virginia until I was 16 years old, I knowed that was impractical. I knew it wasn't true. I knew it was something created, that didn't exist. I fought it, and every Negro at the convention except two fought it. We wasn't for it. Reports came in at that convention—Clarence Hathaway took the floor and stated that—he said at that convention that in Moscow in 1928, at the 6th World Congress of the Communists International, all of the Negroes fought against the question of Right of Self-Determination. But the Communist International said it had to be. It must be. The American Communist Party said it will be. And we voted against it—a bloc at the 7th National Convention. All of the Negro members that voted against it at the 7th National Convention were removed from top leading positions except myself. Otto Housewood—he now is an agent of the Russian secret police in the Caribbeans and was agent in Asia, Africa, Russia and the United States for years. Prior to his voting against this resolution, he was chairman of the Communist Party National Negro Committee. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Unions in Moscow, Russia. He was called to Moscow to cure himself—to work in the—what you call a "talking to him"—the Red International Trade Union to cure his evils, so he could go on out and accept the program of the Communist Party for the Right of Self-Determination. Cyril Briggs—he was removed from all his leading positions. He was editor of the Negro Champion. Harold Williams—he was in Chicago, and he was removed as District Negro Director. Richard B. Moore was removed from all his leading positions. These are Negroes when I call these names.

They didn't remove me because they stated that they could use me. They were trying to keep me in. I was one of the younger members at that time. B. D. Amis from Chicago and Herbert Newton, one that was graduated from the Far Eastern University in Russia, which was a school to train the Communist International's colonial

faction — he and D. Amis were the only 2 leading regional party members that the party had. So, they taken them, that had had no practical experience leading the national committees of the Communist Party, and put them in charge and left the rest of them out in the cold. Prior to that, the Negroes who were organizers of this cause were subsidized by the party. That was the source of their income. The party cut them off without a nickel, and it was sink or swim. And, I am sorry to state as of today that some of them like Richard B. Moore and Cyril Briggs are still so deep in Communism that they still are in the Communist Party. And they will be the first ones when I get back to New York to condemn me for taking the stand that I took. After this International Convention, I was sent as a national representative of the Young Communist League to the Philadelphia District, and I operated mainly out of the District of Columbia and Baltimore. I remained there until the end of 1930, although during that time I would report back to the National Bureau, of which I was a member, about every 6 weeks to give a report on my activities and to get new assignments if any were to be given.

The first of the year 1931 I was assigned to the Pittsburgh District of the Young Communist League as national representative and was to—I worked in Pittsburgh, Charlottesville, East Liberty, East Pittsburgh, Aliquippa, Amherst, East Ohio right on down the line, spreading Communist activity. After that I reported back to New York around March 3rd or 4th of 1931, to the March International Bureau meeting, and after that I was given the assignment as district organizer of the Young Communist League in Philadelphia itself—the Philadelphia District. The Philadelphia District included Camden, Trenton, Eastern Pennsylvania and the anthracite region. I remained there until August, 1931. While district organizer of the Young Communist League in the Philadelphia District I was a member of the District Committee and District Bureau of the Communist Party.

Invitation came to me from the Central Committee Communist Party, through the district organizer, Leon Platt—by the way, he has been ordered deported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and is not a citizen of the United States—never was. I received this invitation stating that the Philadelphia District is entitled to send 4 students to the International Lenin School in Moscow, Russia. And they wanted four recommendations from the Philadelphia District Bureau. So, I was the first one that was recommended. The second one was Steve Nelson.

Q. Which Steve Nelson is that? Is that the one who just got through United States Supreme Court? Pennsylvania vs. Nelson?

A. Yes, sir, that Steve Nelson where the Supreme Court upset the State laws of Pennsylvania. That same Steve Nelson that was later out in California was instrumental in the suit and was working with the scientists and stealing a lot of secrets and getting them over to Russia—which he was very well qualified in doing. I will deal with this later on. If I forget it, remind me of it. Steve Nelson and myself. Jenny Cooper—she was the wife of Herbert Benjamin. Maybe some of you all remember the Herbert Benjamin who used to be the national organizer of the Unemployed Council that used to lead all

Mr & Mrs. Jenny Benjamin

of the hunger marches to the capital from all over the United States? That was his wife. And Bill Lawrence. We were the students elected from the Philadelphia District to the International Lenin School.

Allow me to stop here a minute, and call me back to it if I forget it, because I'm going into the Lenin School with other things. But right now I want to deal with the question of Bill Lawrence while it is on my mind. Bill Lawrence, while connected with the Young Communist League, was another key man to the Communist Party in their objectives. He was organization secretary. So, Bill Lawrence and myself were sent down to Baltimore, I believe it was around April, 1931—the date can be checked—to lead a Communist hunger march to the State Capital in Annapolis. We got the ball rolling and we made out the policy. Bill Lawrence and myself and several others were selected as the steering committee to wire Governor Ritchie — I guess you all know Governor Ritchie from Annapolis — I think he has been Governor there about 6 times, if I am not mistaken—that we were coming as a delegation. There were around 250 or 300 of us, mostly Negroes. Prior to getting into Annapolis the Committee met, and Bill Lawrence gave the instructions that if the Governor offered to shake hands with us, no one must shake hands with the Governor. A Communist will not shake hands with a capitalist Governor.

If anybody knows Governor Ritchie, he is a very liberal Governor, one of the best. So when we got to the Capital, a messenger informed Governor Ritchie, and Governor Ritchie actually came out and greeted us. He put out his hand, and for fear of Communist discipline we ignored him. Personally, there was nothing I could do. Although I was infatuated with and sincerely with the Communist movement at that time, I did know that was wrong. And so, we demanded of Governor Ritchie that we have the joint session of the House of Delegates and the Senate to hear our demands and read our resolutions for adoption. Governor Ritchie said, "I am the Governor. I can't demand those things. You go down and see the President of the Senate or the House of Delegates." We said, "We will ignore that," and we gave the signal for the delegates to bust into the chambers. They were mostly Negroes. Of course, when we busted into the chambers there were fist fights started between the senators, the House of Delegates and the unemployed delegation of the Communist Party, which was supposedly there for relief—for unemployment assistance. So, finally the police came in and they restored order after a lot of the Negroes' heads were split and blood was running down. Then these delegates—the committee—we met in the corner and decided to contact the presidents of the Senate and House of Delegates, which we did. And they gave us 20 minutes in which to present our views.

Now, this could have been done without antagonism, without anybody's head splitting, without any fights. But that was not the Communist Party way. If we had done that, we couldn't have got in the newspapers. We couldn't have let people know what we were doing. We couldn't have popularized the Communist Party. So it was necessary to create that strife. So, we presented our de-

mands. I was chosen as the spokesman and I presented the party resolutions for 20 minutes. And, what is significant to take note of there — here is a group which consisted of 300 people, mostly Negroes, asking for relief, unemployment assistance and time was granted by the Legislature to hear us. In those days I don't think any other legislature had granted the Communists that privilege. But in Maryland it did. And then the resolution that was read—I guess it was read by the clerk or whoever reads them in the House or Senate Joint Session like that—I remember today it said, "For the defense of the Soviet Union." So that's the way we exploited the entire issue.

So then, the Negro delegates claimed that they were hungry. There was no Communist bargaining here. They'd had nothing to eat. They didn't have nothing to eat on their way. So, the representatives and the senators took up between $60 and $100 to feed our delegates with and the Communists did not let them have it. They made them go back hungry. Now, that is true. Anyone can go there to Annapolis and tell about this fight, the jailings, the write-ups about my speech, the write-ups about the releasing of those arrested. This can be verified.

Getting back now to the Lenin School. After my name was sent in to the Communist Party—it received other names from all over the United States, including the south in Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama—the students came. They screened us to get the history of our life, and so forth and so on. Sent us to the Communist doctors and so on. Much the same procedure that I went through when I went to the army in 1942—only the Communists were a little more particular than the army was. And then, we was recommended as accepted, but we were not yet students of the Lenin School. The party put us on the SS Majestic and sent us to Russia. They gave us a little secret code tag that we sewed in the lining of our collars—passports. When we got to Russia we took that out to present to the proper authorities.

There was no diplomatic relationship between the United States and Russia at that time, so we had to go to England, and then from England go to the Russian consulate—embassy—and get a passport on into Russia. We arrived in England on the SS Majestic August 30, 1931. We stayed there five days and then we took the Russian ship, Komsomol. In the English language, it's "Young Communist League," and the abbreviation is "K." We stayed there during that day on the Russian ship Komsomol. While there we had a Communist meeting jocularly with the Russian sailors celebrating International Youth Day, which was founded by Karl Liebknecht in Germany. The next day we landed in Hamburg, Germany, and we actively participated in the Hamburg demonstration of International Youth Day. From there we went to Leningrad and stayed there overnight. The next morning we took a train to Moscow. When we got to Moscow we was assigned quarters as new students. Then we was called in in groups with interpreters and told to forget ever you was Leonard Patterson or anybody else. Forget that. We had a new name now. You must get a name that the Russians can understand, because the

Russians can't say a "W." So I was Cotton Terry. Abe Harfield—another witness will tell you he was his organization's secretary and graduated from the Lenin School—he was J. P. Morgan. One was Abraham Lincoln. In other words, they made a mockery out of our leaders at the Lenin School, to give you a few examples.

So then, the next stage we was organized and divided up into international propaganda groups. Now, this is significant. International propaganda groups of twenty-two. All of the English speaking students belonged to the English section of International Lenin School. First and foremost, International Lenin School was a school of the Communist International. It was an international Communist school, subsidized, paid, instructors furnished, everything. It was a Communist International school to train and drill international revolutionary movements to overthrow what they called capitalist structures throughout the entire world. But first and foremost—you was a Communist first. Your whole life belonged to the Communist International, because you was a professional revolutionist. My group consisted of about twenty-two. The same Steve Nelson was in my group. Bill Lawrence, myself and Ed Williams. One from Scotland, from Wales, and one from India, and one from South Africa. They were all in our group. We left Moscow and toured the black-land region in Verona. The only western language was Latin.

We toured there, and we went to these coal mines and visited and met the Communist Party and district committees and organizational committees. We met the former representative from the Communist International to the Communist Party in the United States. His name is Jenkins, I believe. I was reading some material on him the other day. He spoke English. Now, the idea was—there are two goals in Verona—first to meet with the Communist Party organization there and see how the Communist Party acted when it was in power—had power—so if we get power in the United States, we would know how to act. The next was to spread international propaganda, show all the Russian farmers that we visited and spoke to how much better off they were than the American farmers.

We had to show them that. The outlines was all prepared. Material was compiled with facts and figures—specifically, decline of the American farmers, output, etc. And unemployment in America. They don't have none there. At the same time we were delivering that propaganda—myself, Steve Nelson, Bill Lawrence, Ed Williams—we said all this by ourselves: "Now look what lies we're telling. They ain't got no white bread even. They eat black bread, and those farmers' houses!" Those farmers' houses didn't have tin for roofing. They had straw like in the ancient times. That was the roof—straw! The average farmer's shoes was a sandal that Jesus Christ wore when he was down here on the earth. Now, I'm not exaggerating. That's the truth. And the Russian workers—farmers—would be complaining, and we would make those powerful inflammatory speeches. I could see myself making them now, knowing I was telling a lie, that "you are working, with no unemployment, and you are not hungry." Listen to that. In the States, "we haven't got this, we haven't got that."

So, we left there, and we went to Dunbas in the Ukraine. That's

the Russian—largest Russian coal-producing area. That rich vein of coal—I guess, though, you know about that. We went down in the mines, carrying on the same policy, telling them about the coal mines here (in the U.S.A.) and that they have a spy system, that the coal miners in America were not allowed to organize, that they were just working two and three days a week, and that the Russian coal miners was lucky. The Ukrainians—they were very nationalistic and they became very critical. But we had protection, and we—the propagandists would keep those so-called "bad elements" back.

Now, in the countryside there was what is known as the "kulak"—at that time the party had the slogan, "Liquidate the Kulak as a Class." The kulak was a small farmer, and owned a horse and buggy and a little patch of land that the party hadn't taken away from him—because he had influence over the people. The party was afraid to take his land for fear of creating an unfavorable situation. The kulaks were very hostile. We didn't bother with them. We had to have guards when we traveled through there. They did not bother us.

Then, we went into the yellow section of the Ukraine.

Well, we toured Russia for a period of three weeks, carrying out that international propaganda day and night. Everywhere you would go would be organized—the Red Army, the factories, the farmers, schools. The (our) groups were divided, so many sent this way, so many sent that way. And so, we came back, and we estimated what our achievements were—how many members had we recruited into the party. That was our job—to recruit people into the Russian Party—people that the party wanted to join who didn't want to be committed to iron party discipline. We International Communists had a little more effect on them. We did something of use to the party, although we would be given certain people to deal with. We worked through translators. We had very competent translators there in Russia.

Then we began to get organized into the classes. Classes was organized also on the basis of all the English speaking countries. In my class I had one Japanese woman. She spoke English, so, therefore, they put her in our classes. Our instructors was all Russian in the section but two. Pop Mendel, convicted of the Smith Act in New York was one, and Fox from England—he got killed during the Spanish War. Outside of that all the rest of them was Russian.

Now, we had subjects such as the colonial and national questions, creating national revolutions—breaking it right down to the United States that I will deal with when I start my quotations. Communist Party organizational questions. Legal, illegal and semi-illegal Communist activities, such as are being conducted most likely in your state or throughout the United States at the present time. Chemical warfare, military strategy and tactics. I would like to stop here and state I was in the army in Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and I want to say I got better military training in Russia than I got in my own army, from the time I was in Lenin School.

Q. How long were you in the Lenin School?

A. I was in the Lenin School from—latter part of September 1931 until about, I guess, the 15th of October, 1932.

Q. That was a one-year course?

A. Yes, sir. I graduated from that course. Solved military problems. We had a Russian instructor that had just returned from China teaching the Chinese military strategy and tactics—how to shoot, how to field strip machine guns, pistols, etc. We just learned that also. How to erect barricades, what to use as barricades, such as turning over automobiles, streetcars, sandbags, forty-five angle posts, etc. We learned how to handle weapons of various countries, United States, Russia, France, Germany, England.

Q. Of course, then they would teach you how to incite violence and how to take advantage of any incident that might be used to create a violent reaction, is that right?

A. Yes. Our leaders in military science over there taught that the smallest incident, the smallest grievance, could be politicalized and become a mass popular Communist movement until it would involve millions or a hundred million people led by the Communist Party. Now do we have examples? We could have an example in the Scottsboro Case. It reached into Germany where a German was killed following the Communist Party inflammatory propaganda about the Scottsboro Case.

Q. That's the Scottsboro Case that happened at Scottsboro, Alabama?

A. Alabama.

Q. Do you want to go into that now?

A. No. No. I just wanted to give you an example as long as you asked that question. Well, I will leave the Lenin School. I could speak on it for hours and hours, but I don't think it is necessary, even though there is one thing—we were given target practice which we had on the Red Army target ranges. We was given prizes for the best marksmanship and taught that the Red Army was the Red Army of the World—not only of Russia—that if a situation should arise in any country, for instance Spain, if the Communists take up arms, the Red Army would also come in and take up arms. So, I will leave the Lenin School and come right to the question of the Communist Party and our slogan for *Right of Self-Determination* of the Negroes in the United States.

Q. Before we get into that, let's come back to your trip and finish it. You left the Lenin School you said, in October '32—is that right?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You returned to the United States?

A. I was returned to the United States November 1, 1932, and my instructions were to report to Earl Browder, then the General Secretary of the American Communist Party, which I did. They assigned me to the New York District on a temporary basis to participate in the 1932 federal elections until the election was over, and then get my assignment. So, I participated in the elections up in New York, New York State, New Jersey, etc., campaigning for the Communist Party candidates. After that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party met, and they reassigned me to the Young Communist League. I thought I was out of it. But they reassigned me to the Young Communist League. I again became a member of the National Bureau and became National Negro Director, and

began to lay out the plans for the Negro work which I will deal with in a few minutes.

One thing that I think is important that I did forget, while in the Lenin School I participated in most of the sessions of the Communist International concerning the American question of the American Young Communist League. I participated in quite a few discussions, and also attended the International of Trade Unions and the twelfth convention of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. I wasn't a delegate but I attended some sessions as a student at the International Lenin School.

I remained in New York all of 1933. During that time, I was the national representative to the Detroit District for a period, to the Cleveland, Ohio, District for a period, to the Connecticut District for a period—about three or four weeks, maybe five or six, I'd take in some of these districts. And in 1934 I was sent to Maryland—Baltimore—to organize Baltimore into a separate district, a new district of the Young Communist League. I became the top member of the Communist Party organization there, and I already was head of the Young Communist League. I remained there until the latter part of 1935, approximately September,. 1935. After that, I went into the Philadelphia District, and at last I was released from youth activities and assigned exclusively for Communist Party activities, was given the assignment of organizing the longshoremen in Philadelphia—became the Communist Party organizer for the whole longshore movement in Philadelphia. I stayed in Philadelphia in that capacity until I left the Communist Party in approximately August or September of 1937. That in general is my story.

Q. Tell the Committee specifically, what was the thing that caused you to leave the Communist Party? What you told me in our previous discussion.

A. I left the Communist Party because I became convinced that the Communist Party did not have at heart the interest of Negro people, the interest of the white people, the interest of the laboring people, farmers — that the Communist Party was only interested in promoting among the Negro people a national liberationary movement that would aid the Communist Party in its efforts to create a proletarian revolution in the United States that would overthrow the American Government by force and violence through a bloody full-time revolution, and substitute it with a Soviet form of government with a dictatorship of the proletariat that would be loyal to the Soviet Union. I became disillusioned with that. I was taught in the Lenin School, and I was taught through the Communist Party channels, that there could be no peaceful overthrow of the American government. We could not obtain that through ballots. We could not obtain it through legislation. It could only be by a revolutionary force led by the Communist Party. I began to see through that.

Q. But the immediate thing that caused you to leave the party was your work in Philadelphia?

A. Yes, sir. I'm coming to that. When I was longshore organizer, I didn't take over as being paid by the party. I took over and got a job on the docks as a longshoreman. I worked with the longshoremen, and

I became Chairman of the organizing committee when they organized. And here come the second west coast general longshore strike, led by Harry Bridges in 1936. Due to the agitation of the Communist Party among my committee, we put forward our local demands. I had learned that in the Lenin School. We was discharging with six men and entitled to eight. We was getting ten cents an hour less than New York. We demanded that. On the basis of the west coast strike, we put out the propaganda, "Now is the time to act to get our demands won." We tied up the Philadelphia Port from Gerard Point to Port Richmond. Not a ship could move.

My committee and the port organizer, we met with the ship owners' committee about a week before Thanksgiving. The ship owners gave us every demand we asked for, gave in—every demand we asked for. Well, I had no authority to accept. I got to report back to the party faction, and I got to report back to the party to see can I settle this strike. So, I calls up Pat Tooley, made an appointment for a meeting. When I came in, he had a District Bureau meeting. I was a member of the District Committee, also. I says, "We have to settle that strike." I said, "The ship owners gave us what we wanted. With Thanksgiving next week, those longshoremen are hungry, both white and colored. They want turkey for Thanksgiving." He said, "You graduated from the Lenin School. You should know better. You want to spare the west coast longshoremen and act real nice for a measley ten cents an hour increase and two extra men working in a gang. The party taught you better than that. We are not interested whether they earn ten cents more, whether they get two men in a gang. We're interested in the struggle, in tying up the entire ports from the Gulf ports, the south ports, the northern ports and the west coast. We want to demonstrate the power of the Communist Party. This could develop into gigantic revolutionary struggles against the state militia, the state power. And you got to cut it out." "Cut it out!" I said, "I am interested in the longshoremen." I said, "I won't take the responsibility to keep those men out. I am going back and settle the strike." So I went back and called a meeting of the longshoremen, and we put it to a vote to accept the offer of the ship owners and go back to work. We went back to work that same day.

After that they called me into the District Bureau, and we began to develop differences. We began to fight and fight and fight. I went until about the summer of '37, and at that time John L. Lewis and the Communists made an agreement to organize the C.I.O.

I saw through all that. I said, "Well, now, I see this clear, and I am through." And, so, I just attended that last Bureau meeting of the National Committee—of the District Committee Communist Party. I told them I was through, and walked out. They made all efforts to get me back into the party, but I haven't been back as yet.

Q. Now, I want to determine some specific instances that you have knowledge of in connection with violence, particularly in the south and elsewhere taught by the Communist Party. Do you recall the so-called Camp Hill, Alabama, incident?

A. Yes, and by the way I have been in Camp Hill for the Communist

Party. Yes, in 1931, prior to going into the Lenin School, the Communist Party sent organizers into Alabama, in Lee County. That's where Camp Hill is—anybody here from Alabama will know I'm right, Lee County. They sent in organizers there. They had already told me—the first was Gastonia, North Carolina, my state. They courted my state right on, and they sent organizers into Alabama and Georgia. They went into Camp Hill and organized a sharecroppers' union. They organized a tenant league. They organized what is called "self-defense groups"—or guards or "goon squads," whatever you want to call them. Because, you see, our revolution said so. The situation arose there where the sharecroppers' union came in conflict with the county government, the state government. The sheriff came out there, then a couple of deputy sheriffs. The Communist Party had those Negroes organized, and there was an exchange of gunfire. Some people were killed. As a result of that, the party blamed it all on the government of Alabama. The sharecroppers' union grew—numbers grew, and they exploited the situation. One of the leaders, Jim Weight, was sent along with me to the International Lenin School in Russia. That was his reward.

Q. You went down there yourself and talked to the sharecroppers, did you not?

A. I went down there in 1934. I went in the sharecroppers' union and I talked to the party organizers. I spoke to the chairmen of different committees in the union and in the league, and I visited the party apparatus and spoke to them while I was down there.

Q. Now, we referred earlier to the Scottsboro Case. You had some personal connection with the events that followed that case, did you not?

A. Yes, I was Chairman of the Organizing Committee for the Scottsboro March to Washington, D.C. I believe I organized most likely around eighteen to twenty busloads of those marchers from New York to Washington to meet the President of the United States regarding the Scottsboro Case. While we was there, the Communist Party conducted some inflammatory speeches to the delegates—got 'em all roused up and stirred up.

Q. Let me ask you this—this march was organized by you for the Communist Party, was it not? You were acting in your official capacity?

A. The march was organized by the Communist Party, a sub-committee of the Central Committee consisting of myself, Harry Haywood, Grace Denny, Al Cheek, Jack Pirello. That was a sub-committee of the Central Committee to act for the governing body of the Communist Party. And the work was subdivided. My job was to get mobilization, to get the marchers and get them there. Al's job was to get the finances and the busses. Haywood's job was theorizing, theorize the march. Grace Denny's job was to furnish the money. She had plenty of it. She was a Communist.

When we got to Washington Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, James W. Fuller and all these Political Bureau members had taken the march away from us. We had been sleeping and eating with the marchers and bringing them there all day. When we got there, the Political Bureau members taken them so the newsreels and reporters would show that they was the leaders of the march. And

the Bureau members were flown probably on a Pullman or first-class passage. After the inflammatory speeches, the Communist Party had them march in the District of Columbia—got 'em all 'roused up and stirred up because President Roosevelt refused to receive the delegation of the committee.

I will tell you what you can do when you are allowed to. I had my people under good control going. I had them organized on a military basis. I had four in a squad and a squad leader. I had a captain of the whole bus, and I had a field marshall and a supervisor. I had them well organized and kept order. But coming back, as a result of those inflammatory speeches, they got out of hand. Delaware and Maryland still had southern customs. They serve who they want to serve, and those they don't want to serve, they don't. So the busses stopped, and they would run into the restaurant and the proprietor would say, "We don't serve colored people." And then the marchers were inflammed and misled. They'd beat the proprietor up and take jars full of candies or cookies or things. It was all I could do with my staff to get that situation back in hand and order the bus drivers not to stop any more until we got back into Pennsylvania.

Well, I just wanted to show how a situation could actually be exploited, and a situation like that did not help the cause of better race relations, in my opinion. A situation like that only aggravated and made it more difficult to promote better understanding between two races of American citizens.

Another specific example was in New York—1934 or '35. A Negro boy went into a five and dime, and he was reported killed for picking up something that did not belong to him by the proprietor. I wasn't there, I don't know whether it was true or not. But I do know the results. He ran out of the store, the proprietor ran after him, and the Communist Party got hold of that situation—Headquarters, it was, and the party issued handbills that the proprietor attempted to kill a Negro boy. They had open air meetings there. In less than an hour there was a race riot. I'm not speaking of something I read about—it's something that I was part of. In less than an hour there was a race riot—Negroes massing at 125th Street. Smashing the stores of white shopkeepers. Smashing the windows. Looting the stores, etc.

Q. You were involved in that yourself, personally?

A. Yes. Yes. Yes.

Q. Did you help organize that?

A. Yes. As a leader in the Communist Party, do you think I could stand aside and not do that?

Q. You did specifically help organize that?

A. Sure.

Q. And you know the party organized that?

A. Sure. And here's a typical example of how a situation is exploited. Anything I speak about, you can get newspapers and verify. I didn't know what I was coming to, so I had nothing prepared, but you can check against me in the papers around the time—1934, City of New York. From 116th Street to 143rd Street, the Communist Party organized a boycott against all white butcher stores demanding that

they decrease the prices, and that created a very bad situation that almost created a race riot.

Q. Now, let's get a little back toward our own region. Were you in any way personally familiar with the Angelo Herndon Case that took place in Georgia?

A. That I was.

Q. Tell the Committee what you know about that case.

A. Well, I know so much about it, I'm going to tell it from three highlights. Angelo Herndon I first met in 1930 in St. Louis, Missouri, at a convention of the American Negro Labor Congress, where we organized the legal status and legal rights—the Communist Party, I mean, we organized that. We was sent back to our respective districts and territories and told to begin to put that program into effect, organizing boycott movements, etc., etc. I don't want to go into the details. But Angelo Herndon was leading—he was participating in an unemployed movement in Atlanta, Georgia, and was there when the violence broke out. He was arrested and—

Q. He was a Negro, by the way?

A. Negro, yes. The party got wind of him. In fact, he was a member of the Young Communist League at that time, just like I was. And Ben Davis, is there anybody who don't know who Ben Davis is? If they don't, I'll tell them.

Q. He is one of those who has been convicted—?

A. Ben Davis was convicted of the Smith Act in New York. He was a member of the New York City Council. That's the City Council. He was the son of old man Benjamin Davis in Atlanta, Georgia. Now, I guess you know who he is. So Ben Davis and Ben Gear came to New York for instruction from the Communist Party on how to develop a campaign around the Angelo Herndon Case. I was a member of the National Negro Committee at that time with the party, and I met with Ben Davis. This committee met with Ben Davis and Ben Gear, and told them to go back, solicit the Negro organizations, NAACP, the churches, Negro churches, Masonic Lodges, the Negroes in trade unions, and what white organizations they could, and create a mass campaign of indignation against Angelo Herndon's arrest.

Ben Davis went back to Atlanta, and the party apparatus down there—they began to get on the ball, and they began to develop that campaign. I would like to say in passing that Ben Gear was smarter than Ben Davis. He didn't go for that. His eyes were opened right away. He got out of it. We was in the war together. But the Angelo Herndon Case, just like the Scottsboro Case, just like the sharecroppers' union, just like the other events I have enumerated, were exploited by the Communist Party for its own selfish ends—not utilized to promote better feelings between the two races of American citizens, not utilized to better conditions of either group, but sponsored to become part and parcel of the Communist Party's general revolutionary movement in the United States that would be used for the final overthrow of the American government by the force of the Communists.

Q. You stated that you sat in on the conference which prepared the strategy to utilize his case, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. In your capacity as a member of this Executive Board of the Young Communist League?

A. In the capacity as a member of the National Negro Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. That was the top committee on the Negro question in the United States and parts of Africa and the West Indies Islands, etc. By the way, I believe that taken place around 1933.

Q. Do you recall the outcome of that case? He was acquitted on a technicality, was he not?

A. Yes, I believe he was convicted first. Then appealed. Then he was acquitted on a technicality. I think that was the outcome of that case.

Q. As a matter of fact, one of the specific charges against him was distributing Communistic literature in an attempt to incite an insurrection, was it not?

A. That's true.

Q. Now, I would like to ask you something about an organization that you have already referred to. That's the American Negro Labor Congress.

A. Yes.

Q. Would you tell the Committee what you know about the organization and purposes of that particular organization?

A. Well, I'm going to be very brief on that. The American Negro Labor Congress was a Communist organization that was organized to get Negroes to follow the Communist Party line who would not directly go into the Communist Party. That organization, however, was used to penetrate existing Negro organizations, like the U.N.I.A. (this was the Universal Negro Improvement Association), the Garvey movement, N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Negro churches, the Masonic Orders, and to get favorable write-ups from the Negro press and even get support from some liberal white people. It issued its own paper and carried out the Communist Party line.

Q. In connection with the organization of that particular group, it was aimed, I believe you said in our previous discussion, at penetrating the south especially. Was it not?

A. That was its main or basic foundation.

Q. What instructions were given in connection with—what tactics were to be used in penetrating the south?

A. Well, come down here and set up local chapters, plus entering into these organizations I have already listed, plus sending our organizers down here for the south. They had national organizers and they had national speakers to come down here. Like, I believe, Otto Hall came down here, a Negro, and I believe Herbert Newton came down here. I believe Herbert Newton was arrested at Atlanta, Georgia.

Q. Specifically, though, what I want to get at is this. How did they evaluate the importance of the organizations that you were to penetrate in the south? How did they rank them in importance?

A. Well, they ranked them in importance—the bulk of the Negro people in the churches—the bulk—and in those churches most of them are workers and farmers who have grievances. If you get in the churches

and win over some of the local ministers and win over the church members—that could be a hot-bed for Negro rebellion.

Q. What year was this that that was organized? Do you recall?

A. Well, the American Negro Labor Congress was organized when I joined. But, we changed the name in 1930 at the St. Louis convention to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. We changed the name from American Negro Labor Congress to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and we saw that they advanced the program—elevated it, in other words, to a higher standard.

Q. This particular strategy that you are speaking of, the tactics, those were the ones propounded at this 1930 meeting where you changed the name from the American Negro Labor Congress to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Is that right?

A. Right.

Q. So then we know that at least since 1930 there has been a concentrated effort in the south to penetrate Negro religious organizations. Is that right?

A. Well, I would say since 1929. It began by the Communist Party stirring up the Gastonia Textile strike. Negro churches were busy then—but on a higher scale, more organized and concentrated, I would say, at the St. Louis convention in 1930.

Q. Has there been any success in the penetration of Negro churches by the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes. The Communist Party has been able to exercise its influence in Negro churches in the south, Negro churches in the north and throughout the United States.

Q. Do you personally know any Negro ministers who are or were Communists—members of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I knew some in New York, but I lost their names because I have spoken in their churches, and I spoke in the name of the party. Some of them have even taken the witness stand and testified on behalf of the Communist Party when some of the Communist Party members would be arrested for holding open air meetings without a permit, etc. But I can't remember their names at the present time.

Q. The second group of organizations they figured were important as a clearing place—what were they?

A. The trade unions.

Q. In the south especially?

A. Well in the south especially, the wharf, the longshoremen. Particularly, the following ports became places for concentration by the Communist Party: the Port of New Orleans, the Port of Houston, Texas, and the Port of Savannah, Georgia, which employed a large number of Negroes. Now, the Communist Party—the Port of Baltimore, Maryland, the Port of New York, the Port of Port Arthur—the Communist Party wanted those ports well sealed up like Harry Bridges had the west coast. Why? Number one, with the longshoremen organized under the influence of the Communist Party, the Communist Party could use the Negro longshoremen in the creation of its so-called National Liberation Movement for the Negroes. The main reason was in the event of a war with Soviet Russia—at all times during those years our main slogan was "for the defense of the Soviet

Union"—in the event of a war between the United States and Soviet Russia, the Communist Party would have the longshoremen and seamen organized, particularly the longshoremen. A general strike, tying up these ports and those on the west coast, which the Party controls through Bridges, and then, of course, tie up New Orleans—if they could tie up Baltimore; Houston, Texas; Savannah; and New York City, they could cripple the American war efforts in winning a war against the Soviet Union. They could stop the ships from carrying supplies, etc.

Q. Some of the Committee members would like to know, do you have any idea of the percentage of longshoremen who are colored and the percentage who are white, approximately, in these various ports?

A. In New York the overwhelming majority is white. I would say it was around about 20% colored. In Baltimore I would say it's about 50 - 50. I would estimate in New Orleans it is around the same thing, maybe 60 - 40, but it's close to that, I believe. In Savannah, I believe, the majority are Negroes. And in the Houston, Texas, port, I think they run around 50 - 50 or 60 - 40, something like that. In other words, a large percentage of longshoremen in those ports that I spoke of, I believe, take it all as a whole, about 50% of them would be Negroes. That's my estimation, of course.

Q. Now, what happened to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights?

A. Well, we organized that and revised it again in 1934. And then we got a letter from the Communist International that says we must organize a peoples' plot. We decided that the League of Struggle for Negro Rights couldn't reach far enough. It couldn't go far enough to reach the Negro intelligentsia, etc. So we decided we needed a broader organization. We decided to organize the Negro Congress, National Negro Congress, which southern Negro rights would become part of and affiliated with. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights remained up until the late '30's a Communist Party front organization for Negroes serving as a transmission belt for the Communist Party.

Q. You say you all organized the National Negro Congress. Is that right?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What year was that? Do you recall?

A. It was organized in 1936 in Chicago, Illinois. However, preparatory work started around 1935.

Q. Were you a part of it? Did you help in organizing that organization—the National Negro Congress?

A. In the beginning I did.

Q. You left the party when?

A. 1937.

Q. That wasn't very much longer after it was organized that you left.

A. Yes, sir. That's right. I left right after I attended the second convention that was held in Philadelphia in 1937.

Q. Now, thus far your testimony in this matter has shown, I believe, that the purpose of the Communist Party is to exploit every possible incident of racial tension for the purpose of creating strife and discord and to create it where no such tension exists. Is that not correct?

A. Absolutely correct.

Q. Do you feel that any organization, whether white or black, that aids

this particular type of thing, that is, exploiting racial tension or inciting violence, in actuality is helping the Communist Party in this country?

A. Well, may I answer that question in my own way here? Any organization that is following the Communist Party line, whether it be conscious or unconscious—what I mean by following the Communist Party line is that they pursue the same tactics—they are doing nothing to promote good race relations, but are actually breaking down any good work that people are doing to try to promote better race relations. And that's why I'm here.

Q. You are here because you think that's a danger everyone should know about. Is that not correct?

A. That is absolutely correct.

Q. I have here a booklet entitled **The Communist Position on the Negro Question.** Would you tell the Committee just what this book really is? You are thoroughly familiar with it?

A. Well, I will put it in this language, and then I'll put it in another. That pamphlet there is the Communist position on the Negro question, the Communist Party Bible on work among Negroes. In other words, that is a basic Communist law for Communist policy and organization. It was not to be contested by members of the Communist Party. If they did, they would be disciplined, and some of our Negro Communists were disciplined because they disagreed with that. I believe your next witness was disciplined because he didn't believe in it. William Nowell of Detroit disagreed with it, and was expelled from the Communist Party because he disagreed with it. Those documents there were discussed, drafted in the Communist International, then handed down to the American Communist Party and discussed in the Central Committee of the American Communist Party, in the national sessions of the American Communist Party, the Communist Party International conventions, likewise, throughout the Young Communist League. All leading Negro members of the Communist Party were called in individually and discussed that, including myself.

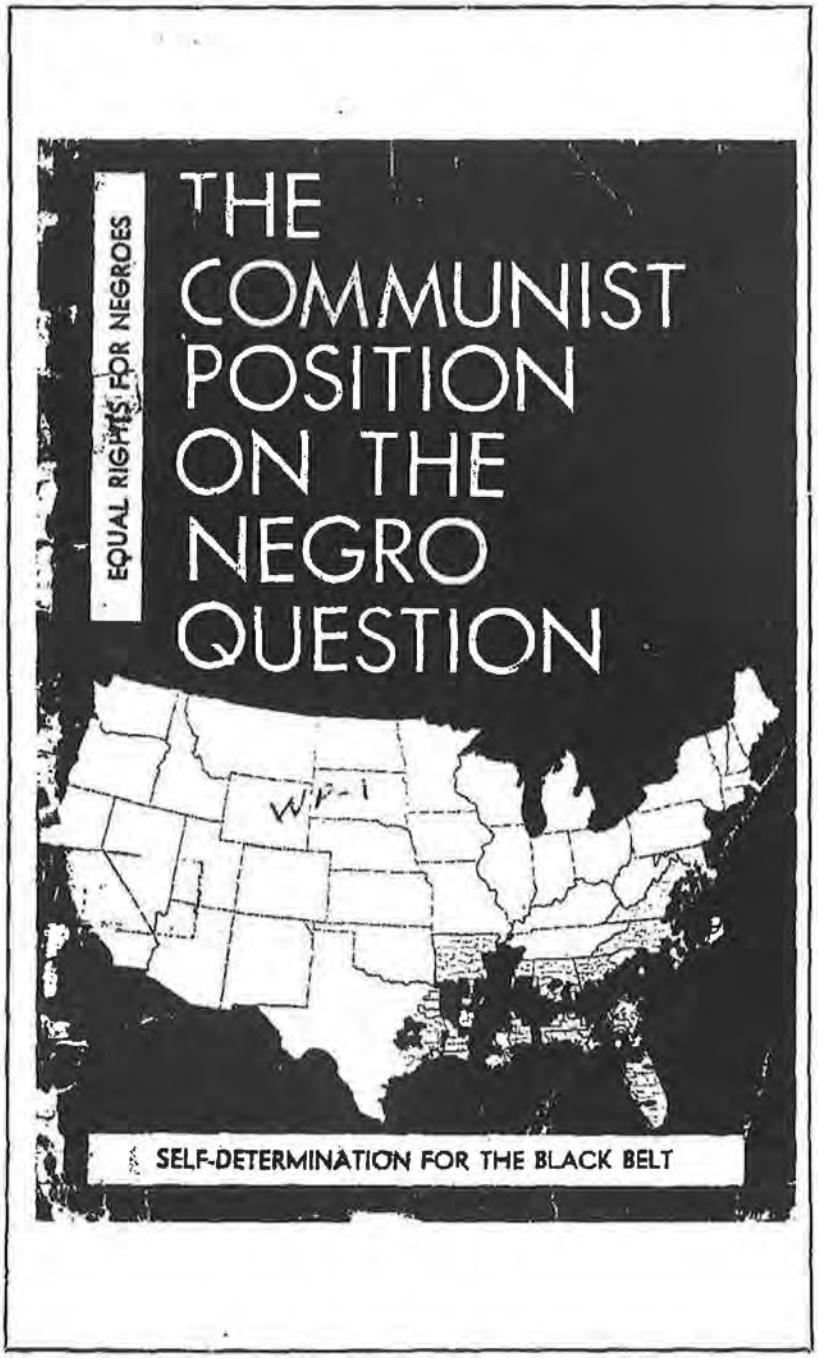
I was called in from Baltimore by Earl Browder, and we dealt with that question for hours—getting me to agree to it because, as I said, I never agreed to that slogan, the Right of Self-Determination. Finally, after I accepted it under party discipline, I taught classes from it. I gave lectures on it. I studied from it in the Lenin School, taught from it in the International School here in the United States. So I am well acquainted with that doctrine.

Q. You are thoroughly acquainted with this doctrine. It was the basic party doctrine on the Negro question. Is that right?

A. Absolutely correct.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I am going to mark this document as Exhibit WP-1 and offer it in evidence with the right to substitute a photocopy of the same and ask that it be introduced.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that the document in question be introduced as evidence under the number WP-1 and that extracts from it be made a part of the official record. (See pages 128, 129, 130, 131, 132)



(Exhibit WP-1a)

WP-1

Resolutions of the Communist International on the Negro Question in the United States

1. Resolution of Communist International, October, 1930

1. The Communist Party of the United States has always acted openly and energetically against Negro oppression and has thereby won increasing sympathy among the Negro population. In its own ranks, too, the Party has relentlessly fought the slightest evidences of white chauvinism, and has purged itself of the gross opportunism of the Lovestoneites. According to the assertions of these people, the "industrial revolution" will sweep away the remnants of slavery in the agricultural South, and will proletarianize the Negro peasantry, so that the Negro question, as a special national question, would thereby be presumably solved, or could be put off until the time of the socialist revolution in America. But the Party has not yet succeeded in overcoming in its own ranks all underestimation of the struggle for the slogan of the right of self-determination, and still less succeeded in doing away with all *lack of clarity* on the Negro question. In the Party discussion the question was often wrongly put and much erroneous counterpoising of phases of the question occurred; thus, for instance: Should the slogan of social equality *or* the slogan of the right of self-determination of the Negroes be emphasized? Should only propaganda for the Negroes' right of self-determination be carried on, or should this slogan be considered as a slogan of action? Should separatist tendencies among the Negroes be supported or opposed? Is the Southern region, thickly populated by Negroes, to be looked upon as a colony, or as an "integral part of the national economy of the United States," where presumably a revolutionary situation cannot arise independent of the general revolutionary development in the United States?

In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely, as the question of an *oppressed nation*, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of national oppression not only in view of the prominent *racial distinctions* (marked difference in the color of skin, etc.), but above all, because of considerable *social antagonism* (remnants of slavery). This introduces into the American Negro question an important, *peculiar* trait which is absent from the national question of other oppressed peoples. Further-

(Exhibit WP-1b)

WP-1

further aggravated as a result of the increase of the contradictions arising from the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation of the Negro peasantry and of a considerable portion of the Negro proletariat (miners, forestry workers, etc.) in the Black Belt, and at the same time, owing to the industrial development here, the growth of the most important driving force of the national revolution, the black working class, is especially strengthened. Thus, the prospect for the future is not an inevitable dying away of the national revolutionary Negro movement in the South, as Lovestone prophesied, but on the contrary, a great advance of this movement and the rapid approach of a revolutionary crisis in the Black Belt.

6. Owing to the peculiar situation in the Black Belt (the fact that the majority of the resident Negro population are farmers and agricultural laborers and that the capitalist economic system as well as political class rule there is not only of a special kind, but to a great extent still has pre-capitalist and semi-colonial features), the right of self-determination of the Negroes as the *main slogan* of the Communist Party in the Black Belt is appropriate. This, however, does not in any way mean that the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes in the Black Belt is less necessary or less well founded than it is in the North. On the contrary, here, owing to the whole situation, this struggle is even better founded; but the form of this slogan does not sufficiently correspond with the *concrete* requirements of the liberation struggle of the Negro population. Anyway, it is clear that in most cases it is a question of the daily conflicts of interest between the Negroes and the white rulers in the Black Belt on the subject of infringement of the most elementary equality rights of the Negroes by the whites. Daily events of the kind are: all Negro persecutions, all arbitrary economic acts of robbery by the white exploiters ("Black Man's Burden") and the whole system of so-called "Jim-Crowism." Here, however, it is very important in connection with all these concrete cases of conflict to concentrate the attention of the Negro masses not so much on the general demands of mere equality, but much more on some of the revolutionary *basic demands* arising from the concrete situation.

The slogan of the right of self-determination occupies the central place in the liberation struggle of the Negro population in the Black Belt against the yoke of American imperialism. But this slogan, as we see it, must be carried out only in connection with two other basic demands. Thus, there are three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt, namely, the following:

(a) *Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners*

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(Exhibit WP-1c)

WP-1

and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers. The landed property in the hands of the white American exploiters constitutes the most important material basis of the entire system of national oppression and serfdom of the Negroes in the Black Belt. More than three-quarters of all Negro farmers here are bound in actual serfdom to the farms and plantations of the white exploiters by the feudal system of "share cropping." Only on paper and not in practice are they freed from the yoke of their former slavery. The same holds completely true for the great mass of black contract laborers. Here the contract is only the capitalist expression of the chains of the old slavery, which even today are not infrequently applied in their natural iron form on the roads of the Black Belt (chain gang work). These are the main forms of present Negro slavery in the Black Belt, and no breaking of the chains of this slavery is possible without confiscating all the landed property of the white masters. Without this revolutionary measure, without the agrarian revolution, the right of self-determination of the Negro population would be only a Utopia or, at best, would remain only on paper without changing in any way the actual enslavement.

(b) *Establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt.* At the present time this Negro zone—precisely for the purpose of facilitating national oppression—is artificially split up and divided into a number of various states which include distant localities having a majority of white population. If the right of self-determination of the the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this state there will of course remain a fairly significant white minority which must submit to the right of self-determination of the Negro majority. There is no other possible way of carrying out in a democratic manner the right of self-determination of the Negroes. Every plan regarding the establishment of the Negro state with an exclusively Negro population in America (and of course, still more exporting it to Africa) is nothing but an unreal and reactionary caricature of the fulfillment of the right of self-determination of the Negroes, and every attempt to isolate and transport the Negroes would have the most damaging effect upon their interests. Above all, it would violate the right of the Negro farmers in the Black Belt not only to their present residences and their land, but also to the land owned by the white landlords and cultivated by Negro labor.

(c) *Right of self-determination.* This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the

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(Exhibit WP-1d)

WP-1

entire territory of the Black Belt, as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States. It would not be right of self-determination in our sense of the word if the Negroes in the Black Belt had the right of self-determination only in cases which concerned *exclusively* the Negroes and did not affect the whites, because the most important cases arising here are bound to affect the whites as well as Negroes. First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative, and judicial authority. At the present time all this power is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, *the overthrow of this class rule* in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right to self-determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins its freedom from American imperialism even to the point of deciding *itself* the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self-determination. One should demand from the beginning that no armed forces of American imperialism should remain on the territory of the Black Belt.

7. As stated in the letter of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. of March 16, 1930, the Communists must "*unreservedly* carry on a struggle" for the self-determination of the Negro population in the Black Belt in accordance with what has been set forth above. It is incorrect and harmful to interpret the Communist standpoint to mean that the Communists stand for the right of self-determination of the Negroes only up to a certain point but not beyond this, to, for example, the right of separation. It is also incorrect to say that the Communists are only to carry on propaganda or agitation for the right of self-determination, but not to develop any activity to bring this about. No, it is of the utmost importance for the Communist Party to reject any such limitation of its struggle for this slogan. Even if the situation does not yet warrant the raising of the question of uprising, one should not limit oneself at present to propaganda for the demand, "Right to Self-Determination," but should organize mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes, tax boycott movements, etc.

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(Exhibit WP-1e)

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. I would like to ask you if it's not true that this document which we have just introduced in evidence contains many written statements which will corroborate and verify what you have been telling us here this morning?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. We had planned to read those into the record, but in view of the shortage of time I believe we'd just better introduce the entire thing and make our excerpts from it and introduce it into the record in that manner. The question of Self-Determination which you have mentioned has been pointed out by a prior witness as having been one of the doctrines that the Communists put forward, and I believe you have gone into that already to some extent yourself. Did you not state that the Negroes did not accept that in the United States? They did not accept that doctrine?

A. First, the majority of the Negro Communist members accepted it. And I left the party on account of that. The Negro people, as such, never accepted that. While I'm on that subject, the Negro people in the United States, and particularly in the south, did not accept the Communist Party program. The Communist Party would come down with these inflammatory speeches and those incidents that I spoke about, to get their attention. But the majority of the Negroes that fill out a Communist Party card—they might stay three months, four months, six months, and they would leave. The majority of the Negro people never accepted the Doctrine of Self-Determination and they never accepted the Communist program as a whole.

Q. What the Communists were able to do, though, was to successfully exploit any instance they found of racial tension, more or less. That was what their main success involved, is that right?

A. Basically, yes.

Q. Now, you have come down here from New York voluntarily to give this Committee the benefit of your personal experiences in this matter. How do you think this is going to affect you—your testimony here, when you get back home?

A. Well, the Negro press that will be under the influence of the Communist Party, the ministers that will be under its influence, and certain leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. that are under the influence of the Communist Party—they will call me a stool pigeon. I will be called assisting the State of Louisiana in promoting segregation, etc., etc. I am subject to be met with a picket line in front of my door. My neighbors will be told that I'm this and I'm that. This has happened to me before, except picket lines in front of my place. I expected that when I took up this challenge. I am interested in no bill that has been introduced in the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, or any that may be introduced in the future.

But I am interested in telling the truth on the basis of facts and experience to this committee, or any other committee, that asks me

about how the Communist Party mis-used the Negro people for its own selfish interests and does not have at heart the interest of the Negro people.

Q. What do your family, relatives and friends think now that you have broken with the party and are using your knowledge and so forth to combat it?

A. The intelligent ones think that I am doing a great service for my country and my government. And those that do not understand—that speaks for itself.

Q. Back in the early part of your testimony you stated that you had lost your religion after you became a member of the Communist Party. What is your present position in regard to religion?

A. I went back to the church again. I am a Free-Will Baptist, ordained deacon in my church—Mount Fairfield Baptist Church, 124 Patching Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

Q. I don't believe we have ever established what you do now for a living. What is your trade or profession?

A. I am a first-class rigger in shipyards. I worked in Bethlehem Steel Shipyards, and also I have a public hack license. Sometimes I drive a public hack in New York City, and sometimes I do research work. Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn—

Q. If you do have another exhibit, we want to get it in.

A. Yes. I want to get this in the record, as a matter of interest. The Communist Party don't want justice. They don't want anything that's peaceful. I would like to read this, please.

Q. Please do that.

A. To show that the Communist Party will not, and cannot, win their program through legislation or judicially, or through parliamentary election, I'd like to point to the Communist International Resolution of the Second World Congress, the subject prepared for the Communist Party on parliamentary procedure. This appeared in **The Communist**, April, 1932, Volume XI, No. 4, pages—295 to 309, and again in **The Communist**, November, 1932, C.P., Volume XI, No. 11, also at the Sixth convention of the Communist Party for March, 1929, and at the extraordinary conference of the Communist Party held in New York City, July 7th—10th, 1933. It reads as follows:

> **"The task of the proletariat is to break up the state apparatus of the Bourgeoisie, destroy it and with it also all parliamentary institutions, whether Republican or constitutional Monarchist. The same applies to Bourgeois municipal institutions and it would be wrong theoretically to draw a distinction between them and other organs of the state. They are in fact part and parcel of the Bourgeois state which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by workers councils."**

MR. SHAW: That has been read into the record, and I would like to offer it in evidence and mark it WP-2, this quoted excerpt from the quoted document.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that this be made a part of the record.

MR. SHAW: On behalf of the people of the State of Louisiana I want to thank you—

REPRESENTATIVE NAPPER: Mr. Chairman, before you tender the witness, may I ask a few questions, please?

BY MR. NAPPER:

Q. Have you testified, or have you been asked to testify or have you offered to testify before any committees of the United States Congress?

A. Yes. I have testified before the Senate Internal Security Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee, etc.

Q. Yesterday the Committee heard the testimony of Mr. Joseph Kornfeder. At the end of his testimony I attempted to summarize his testimony in four basic, simple statements. And I'd like to ask you if you could agree with these four points as I have summarized them. First, that the goal of the Communist Party is world domination.

A. Absolutely correct.

Q. Second, towards world conquest and/or domination, various allies are formed with the Communist Party, which allies are liquidated or made subservient to the Communist Party at the end of the usefulness of the ally?

A. Absolutely correct.

Q. Third, the Negro race has been and is presently being exploited as an ally of the Communist Party for world domination?

A. Absolutely right.

Q. Fourth, upon the termination of the usefulness of the Negro race as an ally, this ally will, according to the past history of the Communist Party, be either liquidated or made completely subservient to the Communist Party?

A. Very well said. There's just one—there's just one more thing I would like to say—that, on the whole, in spite of the efforts of the Communist Party to win the Negro for selfish ends, the Negro people in the United States are a loyal people to their government and country. We have distinguished officials here, and we can never state that a Negro tried to assassinate a governor, a mayor, state representative. He is a law-abiding citizen, but like any other people that have certain grievances, when stirred up and his grievance diverted into subversive channels, he is sometimes misled.

SENATOR RAINACH:

The Chair would like to state on behalf of the Committee that that concurs with our opinion, also. We know that there is a deep friendship that fundamentally exists between both races of this country and that both of our races are fundamentally loyal. It is our purpose here to see that neither of them is used to destroy this country. Thank you very much for appearing. We appreciate your personal sacrifice in doing so.

A. Thank you.

— WITNESS EXCUSED —

Subversion In Racial Unrest

AN OUTLINE OF A STRATEGIC WEAPON TO DESTROY THE GOVERNMENTS OF LOUISIANA AND THE UNITED STATES

PART II

PUBLIC HEARINGS

OF THE

STATE OF LOUISIANA

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

MARCH 6-9, 1957

STATE OF LOUISIANA

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

SEN. W. M. RAINACH, CHAIRMAN

COMMITTEE ADDRESS:

P. O. BOX 450, HOMER, LOUISIANA

REP. E. W. GRAVOLET, JR.,
VICE-CHAIRMAN
POINT-A-LA-HACHE, LA.

REP. CARROLL L. DUPONT
HOUMA, LA.

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REP. JOHN S. GARRETT
HAYNESVILLE, LA.

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MINDEN, LA.

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SECRETARY
BENTON, LA.

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RUSTON, LA.

SEN. S. R. PATTON
FARMERVILLE, LA.
(VICE SEN. A. L. STEWART)

SEN. ALVIN T. STUMPF
GRETNA, LA.

W. M. SHAW, GENERAL COUNSEL
HOMER, LA.

EXCERPTS

NNING JOHNSON: "I began to realize that I was only a tool of the devils in the Kremlin, that they were using me (a Negro) as a tool to subvert my people . . . to be used as pawns in the Soviet struggle for power throughout the world. . . . The Communist Party has always infiltrated the NAACP . . . . They (the NAACP) will turn white against black, Americans against each other . . . The outcome will be bloodshed and violence, and the Negro will be the victim . . . . What the Negroes really need is an organization of Negroes only . . . . The Daily Worker tells you who was the architect and who was the founder of the organizations that are so called 'do-gooders' to help the Negro."

W. M. RAINACH: "The true picture of the Communist . . . utilization of the colored people of this country as an instrument toward conquest of the United States by Russia has never been brought to light heretofore. . . . The thought they have presented that the Negroes of the United States should form their own organization, be led by their own leadership . . . is the answer to the problem."

ARTHA EDMISTON: "It dawned upon us finally — that we were holding interviews for the Communist Party in Columbus, Ohio . . . . We set up our contacts (with the FBI) . . . . We saw within the party the pitiless exploitation of Negro people . . . . We were assigned to take with these two Negro girls and the party organizer and his wife with us to Chicago in our car . . . . All the way across to Chicago we would create incidents in attempting to get these two Negro girls into restaurants—white restaurants . . . . Lee Lorch I most certainly could identify as a Communist Party member . . . It named Lee Lorch as Secretary to the Tennessee Chapter of the NAACP."

HUBERT BADEAUX: "The Communist Party is not only existing in Louisiana . . . in this very city they are operating . . . . Our office developed the lead on the location of the documents and sent agents . . . . I would first like to establish for you that the NAACP has thousands of documents which support the idea of Communist penetration . . . . You have a significant message — of the Communists' declared intention to resolutely defend the NAACP . . . . In the Emmett Till case in the State of Mississippi, the Communists made an incident out of that out of all proportion . . . . Doxey Wilkerson's 'The People vs. Segregated Schools' — they sell to every party member and contact."

L. H. PEREZ: "I have a memorandum which shows that he (the NAACP Field Secretary in New Orleans) was discharged as a Reserve Commissioned Officer . . . for security reasons . . . . I would like to file with the Committee official confirmation of that fact (the Self-Determination Communist Policy for the Negroes of the South), which is reflected in the proceedings by Herbert Brownell, Attorney General of the United States, against the Jefferson School of Social Science, a Communist product college."

BIOGRAPHIES

MANNING JOHNSON: Born in Washington, D. C. in 1908, Manning Johnson joined the Communist Party in 1930. Although he quit the party in 1940, he has maintained informational contacts about party activities since that time.

After attending Communist training school, Johnson advanced from one position of importance after another to membership on the National Negro Commission, and finally, to the highest governing body of the Communist Party in the United States — the National Committee.

Since 1940 he has worked with the FBI upon occasion, continuously cooperated with the Criminal Division of the Justice Department and with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the prosecution of Communists and subversive aliens, and testified before committees of the Congress and other governmental agencies in their investigations into Communist subversion in this country.

MARTHA NICHOLS EDMISTON: A native of Waynesville, Ohio, Mrs. Edmiston is a journalist and public relations consultant. In 1940 she and her husband joined the Communist Party as undercover agents for the FBI.

They did important work in uncovering subversive groups in Columbus and Cincinnati, finally being thrown out of the Communist Party in 1941 because "they suspected us of being 'spys and FBI agents and enemies of the people.' "

Unable to disclose their real mission to their families, they were, in large part, cast out for ten years by both family and friends, enduring numerous privations and hardships in behalf of their dedicated roles.

HUBERT BADEAUX: Born and reared in New Orleans, Louisiana, Hubert Badeaux is presently Agent in Charge of the Division of Intelligence Affairs of the Police Department of that city.

Badeaux played an important role in the raid on the Communist Party organizer for the Orleans district, a Negro named Hunter Pitts O'Dell. Many valuable documents were seized and much information obtained concerning party plans and objectives, chief among which was a secret document detailing the Communists' "proposals on Southern Party Organization — 1955-56."

Badeaux is considered an expert in party affairs dealing with the Negro. In his activities he has exposed several party leaders in Louisiana, as well as subversive workers under them.

LEANDER H. PEREZ: A native of Louisiana, Judge Perez served the 25th Judicial District of the State for many years, first as district judge and then as district attorney, a position he still holds.

Recognized nationally as an outstanding constitutional lawyer, Judge Perez has contributed in an important way to educating the general public as to the consequences of numerous recent Supreme Court Decisions which deprive the states of authority and infringe upon the powers of Congress.

His testimony establishes the Communist front record of the NAACP Field Secretary in New Orleans, and the U. S. Attorney General's official cognizance of the Communist plan for a Black Republic in the south.

PART II

HEARINGS

of

Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation, State of La

MARCH 8, 1957, COMMENCING AT 10:00 A.M. IN THE COURT OF APPEALS, 4TH FLOOR, LOUISIANA STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA.

(SECOND WITNESS APPEARING)

BY THE CHAIRMAN: The General Counsel will call the next witness before the Committee and he will be sworn in.

THE WITNESS, MANNING JOHNSON, AFTER BEING DULY SWORN TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH, SO HELP HIM GOD, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Will you please state your name and also spell it for the record?
A. My name is Manning Johnson. M-a-n-n-i-n-g J-o-h-n-s-o-n.
Q. Where were you born?
A. I was born in Washington, D.C.
Q. What is your present age?
A. At the present time, I am 49 years old.
Q. What is your present occupation?
A. At the present time I am working as an associate research director. Of course, occasionally, I cooperate with various agencies of the Federal Government in the investigation and prosecution of Communists.
Q. When did you—I'll ask you this. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?
A. Yes, sir. I was a member of the Communist Party from 1930 until 1940. I have been in contact in one form or another with the Communist Party, I should say, for the last 27 years.
Q. Where did you join the Communist Party?
A. I joined the Communist Party in Buffalo, New York.
Q. How did you come to join the party?
A. I was attracted to the Communist Party through one of its front organizations or transmission belts, like so many other Communists. I was walking along the street one day in Buffalo. There was a street meeting on the corner, and there was a very effective agitator talking about race conditions and race relations. Some of the things that he said impressed me. As a result of that, I engaged in con-

versation with the speaker after the meeting was over. I disagreed with him on many things. However, I found myself on many nights during that hot summer listening to the speaker. And as a result, I was asked to join the American Negro Labor Congress.

In the course of my membership in that organization, I began to become subtly indoctrinated in the principles and precepts of the Communist Party. Not long after that Otto Hall, a Negro Communist, who was trained in Moscow, convinced me that I should join the Communist Party and become active, that the Communist Party would send me to school where I would be given extensive training that would eminently prepare me for leadership of my people on a national scale. Well, that was quite a tempting piece of bait. It was quite an offer, and I went after it hook, line, and sinker. As a result of it, I later filled out an application for membership in the party.

I wouldn't sign with the party before that. He had sold me on Communism, but there was one obstacle. The obstacle was the Communist position on religion. I was very religious. I still am. At the time, the Communists sought immediately to convince me to become an atheist before I became a member of the Communist Party. They gave me writings of the renegade Bishop Brown. Specifically, **The Bankruptcy of Christian Supernaturalism**, the main slogan of which was—"Banish Gods from the Heavens and Capitalists from the Earth." And also **For the Science of Moscow Against the Superstitions of Rome.** The other books essentially dealt with atheistic propaganda from the point of view of this Bishop, who had denounced God and the Church and gone into the Communist Party and the Communist movement.

Q. Would you identify that Bishop? What denomination?

A. He was a Prostestant Episcopal Bishop. I did not become an atheist, but I did suppress my religious convictions, because I was convinced by Otto Hall that the cause was far more important than whether or not I believed, or believed as the party believed, on the question of God and religion. Consequently, I suppressed my religious beliefs and proceeded to work in the Communist movement.

Q. What training did you have after you entered the Communist movement?

A. In 1932 the Communist Party sent me to the secret National Training School of the Communist Party in the City of New York. There I had an extensive and intensive course in Communist theory, Communist practice, strategy, tactics, organization, infiltration of non-Communist Party organizations, etc. In short, I was given a course that was necessary to convert me from a raw recruit into a professional revolutionist.

Q. How long was that course in point of time?

A. The course itself lasted three months. As I said before, it was an extensive and intensive course.

Q. What positions in the Communist Party did you hold while you were a member?

A. I was a District Agitation Propaganda Director, member of the District Bureau, member of the District Committee, a District Organizer of

the Communist Party, a member of the New York State Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, a member of the National Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, a member of the National Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party, and also a member of the highest governing body of the Communist Party in the United States, and that is the National Committee. And I was also a candidate for its Political Bureau, or the Executive Committee.

Q. When and under what circumstances did you break with the Communist Party?

A. I broke with the Communist Party during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. I might state here that it takes something bordering on shock to compel one who has been long indoctrinated and inured in the work of the Communist Party to make a break. And such a shock came to me at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

When I studied the situation that arose as the result of the negotiations between Von Ribbentrop and Molotov under the direct blessing of Stalin, which resulted in the sacrifice of the members of the German Communist Party—the policy of joining with the Nazis whom they had told us were—were Fascists of the worst type, scoundrels, assassins, etc.—the usual Communist words to make any individual or any movement synonymous with the worst thing imaginable or conceivable—I said to myself that if they would do that to the Germans, if they would go jointly with the Nazis to take over those smaller countries there and sacrifice them in the interests of the advancement of Soviet conquest and power, I said, what would they do to the Negroes in America?

Q. That was the shock that caused you to break?

A. That is correct, sir. Because then I began to think for the first time, and I began to realize that I was only a tool of the devils in the Kremlin, that they were using me as a tool to subvert my people and to bring them under the authority and dictatorship of Moscow — to be used as pawns in the Soviet struggle for power throughout the world.

Q. What has happened to your ideology, if you want to call it that, or your thoughts, since you have left the party? Have they changed materially?

A. Well, my thoughts, I might say today are on the conservative side. I have seen both the extreme left, and I have seen the extreme right. I am not a middle-of-the-roader, because a middle-of-the-roader is a coward. He's a person that's afraid to take a stand on either side. Though I don't want to be a leftist, I don't want to be a middle-of-the-roader. So, I have to be a conservative in my views and in my approach.

Q. Since you have left the party, have you worked with any of the Federal agencies in combating Communism?

A. Yes, sir, I have. I worked with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its investigation of Communism. In fact, except for a short period when I was in the U. S. Navy during the war, I have continuously cooperated with the F.B.I. and with the Criminal Division of the Justice Department and with the Immigration and Naturalization

Service in the prosecution of Communists and subversive aliens.

Q. What specific type of work did you do for the Department of Justice or the Immigration Branch of the Department?

A. Well, I was an analyst and consultant in the Immigration and Naturalization Service. And that concerneld itself primarily with the investigation and the denaturalization and deportation of subversives—subversive aliens.

Q Have you worked with any of the committees of Congress that are interested in this subject?

A. Yes, sir, I have. I have testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee, before Senate committees investigating subversives and also before a committee in the State of Washington.

Q. Since leaving the party have you attempted in any way to keep up with what was developing within the party itself?

A. Yes, sir, I have. It is a part of my work, and I deal with that in order to be able to efficiently help and assist the government, or any agency, private or governmental. It is necessary for me to keep abreast of things that are happening within the Communist movement, so that I can be in a position to advise them as best I can on the strength of that knowledge how to tackle each and every problem that develops in this subversive movement.

SENATOR RAINACH: The attention has been called to the Chair that this is getting into a new phase of testimony. In order not to interrupt the presentation of that phase, it will be well to recess at this moment.

The Committee will hold an Executive Meeting after the chamber has been cleared. It will reconvene at 1:45.

RECESS FOR LUNCH

HEARING RESUMED AT 2:00 P.M.

SENATOR RAINACH: The hearing will come to order, and the Counsel will proceed with the examination of the witness.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. When we discontinued your testimony, I believe you had just told of how you have kept in contact with the Communist Party since you have left it during the past 20 or more years. I will ask you if you are familiar with an organization known as the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Party?

A. Yes, I am. I was a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party for 6 years. The Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party is the instrument of the Communist Party to carry out the work and program of the Communist Party among the Negro people of America. This committee is composed of the most highly developed, highly trained, loyal and disciplined Negro and white Communists who are professional revolutionists—professional in the sense that they will go anywhere that the party sends them. They will do anything that the party tells them. They will serve wherever the party needs them. They will leave home, family, etc. for weeks, months, and even

years at a time if the demands of the party require it. They are, in the fullest sense of the word, professional revolutionists. They are the ones who use the Communist transmission belts. By that I mean the Negro organizations that the Communist Party uses as bait to attract the Negro so that they can subtly indoctrinate him and bring him around to the Communist way of thinking, acting and doing things.

Mr. Patterson earlier told us of some of his experiences with some of these Communist transmission belts, or Communist fronts, such as the American Negro Labor Congress and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. In addition to forming these transmission belts, this special commission has the responsibility of penetrating the existing non-Communist organizations—that is, the building of Communist Party cells inside these organizations and enlarging them into Communist Party rank and file groups. Boring from within these organizations with the objective—short and long range prospective—of taking over complete control and domination of these organizations.

Q. Would you care to give us some specific examples of that?

A. Yes, for example, the Communist Party during the 10 years I was a member and an officer, specifically worked on such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Elks, the Oddfellows, the Masons and a number of other civic and social organizations.

Insofar as the church is concerned, the Communist Party specifically concentrated upon that in the south because the church is the most influential organization among the Negroes in the south. They had two-fold purposes in connection with work in infiltration and penetration. They were as follows: First, to be in a position to pressure the pastor of the church to participate in various Communist-front activities, united front movements of one sort or another around the issue of ostensibly doing some good for the Negro. The other was to give a coat of protection and respectability to the Communists operating in the south. For example, in a number of the states the police officials were constantly after the Communists. Well, the best place for hiding was in the church. So, they cloaked themselves in religion, becoming active members in the church.

When the law enforcement agencies went after the Communists in the churches, the Communists immediately began to agitate the Negroes and whites and say that these white southerners are fighting the church. Well, naturally a lot of people would become indignant, plenty indignant. They would say, "What's going on here? The law enforcement agencies are waging a war against the churches." In that way they win a lot of sympathy and support.

The fact that the Communists were operating through the church and using the church as a cover does not faze these individuals in the least. They only see the cloak of religion and I think that the Communists were very clever in this particular operation.

I remember when I was sitting in the meetings of the National Committee of the Communist Party, at which time a white Communist by the name of Nat Ross, who operated for years in this area and who is considered an authority on the south, and, also, this fellow

Gilbert Green, who was convicted under the Smith Act and for years was head of the Young Communist League, in their reports to the National Committee, they told of the Communist Party cells which they formed in a number of Negro churches all over the area of the black belt. And in these reports they stated that that was the most effective cover for their conspiratorial operations in the southland.

Coming back to the Negro Commission. This phase of work is a part of the function of the Negro Commission. On this commission were such outstanding Negro Communists as James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, Otto Hall, William L. Patterson, Samuel Patterson, Leonard Patterson, Richard B. Moore, Audley Moore, Maude White, Benjamin D. Amis, myself and others.

Q. You knew these people personally?

A. Yes, sir. I did. I worked with them on the Commission during the whole time that I served on it. And what I have outlined were the specific tasks that we had to confront. I might also say here that the purpose of the Communists in putting white persons on the Negro Commission to decide questions of strategy and tactics was for the purpose of keeping a check on the Negro Communists, to make sure that they followed the line handed down from Moscow. It's natural for a Negro to put race before party. The Communist Party made sure that the Negro put the cause of Communism first and the cause of race second. And those whites were on the commission to see to it that the Negroes hewed to that line!

Q. Tell us something, if you will, about the National Negro Congress?

A. I happen to have had the good fortune of being in that movement from its very inception. It was born or conceived, I should say, in Moscow in connection with the new policy that was laid down at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow. That was a new policy. It was a policy of the people's front, the policy of the Trojan Horse—that is, an instrument to effectively penetrate and take over the non-party organizations and tie them up with the Communist Party. In other words, to utilize masses of people in order to attain the objectives of the Communist Party. Of course, the heart and core, as I said before of this policy was that of the the Trojan Horse. To take these organizations over by deception, because they had tried to take them over by frontal attack — attacking the leaders, attacking the policy, and they had not been successful.

So the devils in the Kremlin conceived of the strategy of the Trojan Horse in order to take over and capture these organizations. That gives an inkling of the thinking of the people that we are dealing with.

We had a discussion at a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party at which time the suggestion was brought forth that we should explore the possibilities of forming a National Negro Congress. Well, a special committee was set up composed of Negroes and whites who were specialists on the Negro question to work out the details and make the necessary arrangements. This, of course, was approved unanimously by the National Committee of the Communist Party and its political bureau. In order to launch such a thing, we have to have a place to launch it. You have to

have people who are respectable, because if from its inception it had been identified with the Communist Party, it would have never gotten off the ground.

Well, the Communist Party had a nice set-up in Howard University in Washington, D.C. I might say, incidentally, that Howard University has been for years a hot-bed of Communism. It was one of those institutions of higher learning that the Communist Party succeeded very much in infiltrating over the years. They also had in Washington, D.C., a committee known as the Joint Committee on National Recovery headed by John P. Davis, a Communist and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. But John P. Davis, fortunately, was not generally known as a Communist. And with his background and his training and his social position, he was ideally situated for that particular task.

So, between the Joint Committee on National Recovery and the Social Science Department of Howard University, a special conference was called at Howard University for the purpose of discussing the conditions of Negroes under the New Deal. Well, they had very good representation—outstanding Negroes and quite a few whites who came to participate. We, of course, were jubilant, and out of this conference came the call for the National Negro Congress. Now, this meeting was held at Howard University on May 18, 19, and 20, in 1935.

Q. I would like to ask you at this point, isn't it true that Howard University is the only institution of higher learning supported by the United States Government?

A. Yes, sir, it is. And I would like to say here—I would like, for the record here, to give you what the Honorable Justice James Cobb had to say about Howard University. This is particularly important to this committee, because you will note as we study this race problem and the role that some organizations have played in this thing that a very radical element from Howard University, who launched Communist projects and everything else, are in the very thick of it.

Judge Cobb in his testimony—and I am reading from the hearing before the Special Committee on Un-American Activites of the House of Representatives dated November, 1938, page 2145. The chairman of the committee asked Mr. Cobb, **"Are you acquainted with Mordecai W. Johnson, now president of Howard University in Washington, D.C.?"** Of course, he answered that he was personally acquainted with him and gave his background, etc., and he proceeded to explain to the committee some of the experiences that he had had while a professor at Howard University. I just want to read some of this testimony. Because it is quite long, I will introduce it into the record.

> He, (Cobb) said, **"As early as 1928, there are evidences of Communist leanings on the part of President Mordecai W. Johnson, as shown by the following excerpts, reporting an address by him at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.**
>
> The committee chairman said, **"I want to make a correction**

here. That speech was made in Cleveland, Ohio, and reported in the Pittsburg Courier of the ... date (as follows):

" 'Speaking of peace' he said, 'Look to Soviet Russia. There something has happened that it would be well for every westerner to reflect upon with an unbiased mind. Russia has declared that she has no designs on any country and has thereby made herself a beacon light for all civilization east and west. What is Russia doing that is meritorious? She is using her wealth and power for the emancipation of the masses to whom it belongs. America would do well to stop and consider the value of Soviet Russia.' "

Going on, the Chairman says, "In the Chicago Defender dated Saturday, June 10, 1933, there is an account of an address given by Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, to the seniors of the university, as follows: 'Washington, D. C., June 9—Endorsing Russian Communism, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University in his baccalaureate sermon urged the seniors of the university to think out a new plan of living for the masses. Traditional religions have broken down, and the church, Catholic and Protestant, is in a state of chaos and confusion, he asserted. In Russia and Spain, he pointed out, the church has been excommunicated.

" ' "In the United States today and in the world," he said, "there is a profound tendency to teach that the salvation of human kind cannot be effectively directed from the ancient churches which have rested upon the external authority of the Bible.

" ' "On the other hand, vast masses of people have gathered themselves together in the cities, where the control of life is manifestly in the hands of a few men. They know the men who control their lives. They are the men who own the public utilities, the great manufacturing establishments, who dictate political appointments in the state, and whose money furnishes the means to get their candidates elected.

" ' "The people are becoming cynical about the beliefs in God, about the power of God to intervene in modern city affairs, and more and more to believe that salvation lies in some silent movement on their part." ' "

So, it goes on and sees religion as a stumbling block, and then it goes on to say on Page 2146 that in the Capitol Spotlight, Louis Lautier, a Department of Justice stenographer, stated, and I quote,

'Washington, D. C., Dr. Johnson, as I interpreted him in his sermon Sunday, made no qualification of his endorsement of Communism. He went further than my story indicates. He spoke an hour and ten minutes. I did not take in shorthand all that he said, but quit writing at times when he gave illustrations, and during some of these periods, he made some of the strongest pronouncements on Communism.' "

I could go on to read some more of them. I just wanted to read that to indicate to you that from the President of that univer-

sity on down the cause of Communism was espoused, and in one of the foremost Negro universities. Naturally, as a result of it, as you could expect, a number of the faculty went along with the president in his position on Communism.

Doxey Wilkerson, in a newspaper article in the Daily Worker after the death of Alaine Locke, stated that Alaine Locke taught "dialectic materialism" in the Department of Philosophy which he headed at Howard University. And also, in the testimony of Judge Cobb, he introduced two resolutions which are very significant — which I would like to take time here to read into the record to show you how the Communists used Howard University and the Joint Committee on National Recovery to launch the boldest and the most effective bid for capturing the Negroes that this country has ever seen.

Q. You have identified Dr. Mordecai Johnson as president of Howard University. Is he still president?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long has he been president?

A. Since the 1920s I know.

Q. He has been continuously president?

A. Yes, sir, he has. I think he replaced Mr. Durkee who was white. He was the white man who was president before at Howard University. Mordecai Johnson was the first Negro president. It is unfortunate that he is that type of man. It doesn't speak so good for the race. In going on, this affidavit, Page 2148, and I quote,

"City of Washington, District of Columbia: Exhibit 1. On this 27th day of June, 1935, personally appeared before me a Notary Public in the District of Columbia, Kelly Miller, of Washington, D. C., who, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

"That he is a graduate of Howard University and has been a professor and dean of the college at Howard University for 45 years, and at present Dean Emeritus of said University.

"That a conference on the economic condition of the Negro was held in Douglass Hall, Howard University, May 18, 19, 20, 1935. That he attended every session of the conference, and from the tenor of the opening he judged that the trend of the conference would be radical, leaning in the direction of Communism, and he therefore queried the presiding officer as to whether it would be the purpose of the conference to keep the discussion within the framework of the Christian religion, democratic institutions, and the Constitution of the United States. He was informed that there was no such intention.

"Deponent further avers that President Mordecai W. Johnson, of Howard University, was present at the time he made this query and had nothing to say.

"That at the session on Sunday afternoon, May 19, the conference was addressed by Mr. W. E. Dubois and Professors Dorsey and Harris of the University faculty, and that James W. Ford, vice-presidential candidate on the Communist ticket during the last presidential election, asked permission to speak, and that he

announced the well-known principle of Communism to bring about revolution by force. Professors Harris and Dorsey urged that the Negro should join with the forces of labor to bring about his salvation.

"Deponent further avers that thereupon he arose and stated that the only components of the labor forces that are willing and ready to unite with the Negroes are those of radical or Communist leanings, and that it would be suicidal for the Negro to ally himself with any force intent upon upsetting the constitution and promoting revolution. In reply to these remarks, two speakers passionately urged revolution through bloodshed, and one of them stated in vehement tones that without shedding blood there could be no remission of sin. Mr. Waldron, Washington correspondent of the Daily Worker, a Communist organ, stated not only once, but twice: 'The revolution is coming notwithstanding the F. D. Rooseveits and the Kelly Millers.'

"President Johnson presided at this session and heard the discussion but made no comments of any kind or character."

Continuing, "At the closing session on Monday afternoon, which was devoted to remedies for the Negro's economic condition, the list of speakers were Norman Thomas, candidate for the presidency on the Socialist ticket; James W. Ford, and a Mr. McKinney, representative of the American Labor Party, which is perhaps the most radical of them all. His name was inserted in the original program. Each of these speakers gave the remedies proposed by his party, all of which suggestions were revolution, with and without the use of force. There was no speaker listed to represent the New Deal or the existing democratic order."

I have another short affidavit, Page 2149, and this one, too, is very significant:

"The United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, July 26, 1935.

"Memorandum to Mr. Humphrey:" (Mr. Humphrey was the government agent who was making an investigation at the time of the Communistic activities at Howard University.)

"It is my confirmed opinion that the national conference held at Howard University May 18, 19, and 20, under the auspices of the Joint Committee on National Recovery and the Social Science Division of Howard University—having as its theme The Position of the Negro In Our National Economic Crisis—was distinctly Communistic in character.

"The opinion offered in this statement is based on my personal attendance and observations at every session of the conference beginning May 18 at 9:30 A.M. and closing May 20 at about 6:00 P.M.

"With perhaps three out of four exceptions, each speaker and discussant on the program seemed to be concerned first with making an attack on not only the present administration but American ideals and institutions. I believe that the last session of the conference is indicative of the trend and purpose of calling this meet-

ing. Following the three day. ' speaking, discussions and conferences, there seemed to be but 'three ways out for the Negro.' 1. The answer of the Socialist Party; 2. The answer of the Communist Party; 3. The answer of the American Labor Party, Mr. McKinney.

"With the exception of Mr. T. Burham King, the critical summaries of the conference were made by Mr. Reginald Johnson, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Mr. John P. Davis and Mr. Emmett Dorsey. I believe that answers to the question, 'What was the purpose of the conference?' are very well stated by a close study of the activities, utterances, and writings of the persons who made the critical summaries of the conference.

"During the course of the last session, May 20, I heard Mr. Ford and Mr. Dorsey advocate the overthrow of the American government, if necessary, to secure the objectives of the program sponsored by this conference."

This is "signed" by **"Lawrence A. Oxley,"** a government representative.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence these excerpts from the hearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee, dated November 1938, and ask that they be marked WJ-1 for identification. **(Exhibit omitted. Available for inspection in office of Committee.)**

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that these excerpts be so marked and made a part of the record of this committee.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Now, I would like to ask you whether you are familiar with an organization known as the Southern Negro Youth Congress?

A. Before we go on to that, sir, I would like to point out that, as a result of this conference, a call was issued for the National Negro Congress which was held the following year in 1936 on Fred Douglas' birthday. Fred Douglas is the darling of the Communists because he was a radical during the days of slavery and during the period of reconstruction, and the Communists adopted him as opposed to Booker T. Washington.

Booker T. Washington—they (the Reds) called him the "Uncle Tom" or "White Folks Negro," and Fred Douglas—they called him "The Radical." This, incidentally has a very important political significance, because it was learned that Monroe Trotter and Dubois were of the same school of thought. They were the ones who certainly fought and opposed the teachings of Booker T. Washington.

Going on, the National Negro Congress was held in Chicago; my name was on the call for the conference. I was one of the delegates, and I was one of the speakers representing the National Committee of the Communist Party. The Communist Party controlled the National Negro Congress throughout. From its very inception, it was conceived in Moscow and thence for the Communist Party. And you will note that some of the key people who were important in

forming that are today members of the National Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. Ralph Bunche was there. He is a member of the national board of the N.A.A.C.P. and was as responsible as John P. Davis for the formation of the National Negro Congress, the carrying out of this order that came down to us from Moscow. He called the first meeting in his own home in Washington, D.C., where the call was issued and this step taken for the Communist International among Negroes in the United States.

Q. This all grew out of this conference that was held at Howard University. Is that right?

A. Yes, sir, that all grew out of that conference.

Q. We have received an inquiry. Do you happen to know what Dr. Bunche's present status is as an official connected with the United States in the United Nations?

A. He is an assistant to the Secretary General of the United Nations. Assistant to Mr. Hammerskjold.

Q. Has he any official connection involved with the United States government other than that?

A. I don't think so. I think his sole position is that in the United Nations.

Q. Let's pass on to the organization known as the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Do you have any personal familiarity with that organization? If so, describe it to the committee.

A. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was formed by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. The persons who were instrumental in doing this job for the Young Communist League were two young Negroes, one by the name of Edward Strong, and the other was James E. Jackson, who was for years Southern Regional Organizer for the Communist Party. They were the ones who launched it. I remember the reports that were given to the National Committee when I was a member of the activities of the Southern Youth Congress here. They were able, as a result of the work of Jackson and Strong, and a number of other connections that they had here, to set up a wide network of organizations throughout the south. Among the many places where they really had organizations were Nashville; Macon; Atlanta; Greensboro, North Carolina; Misaissippi; Pine Bluff, Arkansas; and New Orleans; Birmingham, etc. In fact, they had representation in all of the key areas of the south.

In the Daily Worker of Wednesday, December 1, 1934, Page 6, in an article written by S. D. Rock, entitled James Jackson's Fortieth Birthday; Hero Son of the Negro People, the writer states, and I quote:

"Jim Jackson was there as an officer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, spearheading the movement, rallying his fellow Negro veterans to take advantage of their poll tax exemption and vote."

Then, the article goes on to say—and this is very significant—to show who organized and who inspired these movements here that are causing all of this chaos and confusion, it says up here that.

"For a period of 15 years he took part in every important

general movement for advancement which involve Negro and white labor and progressive forces in the south.

"In addition to serving as a founder, vice-president and principal organizer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, he participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, and many other movements which in any important way challenged the status quo of Negro oppression and Southern social backwardness."

This is clear and convincing evidence. I am not saying it. This is the official organ of the Communist Party, the **Daily Worker**, which tells you who was the architect and who was the founder of these organizations that are so-called "do gooders" to help the Negro.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this photostatic copy of the **Daily Worker** in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-2 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that the exhibit WJ-2 be made a part of the records of this committee. **(See page 150)**

A. Mr. Chairman, I would like to quote from the second article written on this fellow Jackson, because I think it is indicative of the type of professional Negro leadership that the Communist Party has developed and the danger that they are to the security of our government.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Before you go any further in that, let me ask you this—is Jackson still alive?

A. Jackson was arrested by the FBI and indicted under the Smith Act and convicted. He is out on bail at the present time waiting an appeal to Supreme Court.

Q. You consider him to be an important leader for the Communist cause in this matter?

A. Oh, yes. I want to read something for you. I want to show you the second article which I think is very important to give you insight in that, and I quote, on page 4, **Daily Worker**, December 2, 1954, it states:

"When the leaders of the Southern Negro Youth Congress undertook to organize the desperately-exploited Negro tobacco stemmers and laborers of the Larus Brothers and Export Leaf Plants in Richmond in 1937 and '38, Jackson was the principal leader of the organizing drive and historic strike (first in the history of the tobacco industry) which followed."

Who was this man Jackson? I have given you an indication of the caliber of man he is, but the **Daily Worker** gives you a better explanation of the man's character than I could possibly give you; so, I would like to quote just a couple of paragraphs:

"Most important, the two main ingredients that go to make up the revolutionary 'charge' in Jim Jackson—the fight for Negro freedom and for labor's rights—have been tempered to an unusually fine degree in the fire of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist science.

"His articles in Political Affairs, his speeches at party conventions and conferences, bear the marks of a major and seasoned theoretical talent.

"All the features are there which characterize the work of an

Page 6 Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, November 1, 1944

WJ-2

James Jackson's 40th Birthday: Hero Son of the Negro People

By S. D. ROCK

THIS IS the 40th birthday of James E. Jackson, Jr. It also marks roughly three-and-a-half years that this stalwart Marxist leader, Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of its national committee, has lived the life of a political refugee, separated from his family, hounded by the vengeful, fascist-minded political police of the FBI.

Both these facts deserve widespread recognition and commemoration in the ranks of Communists, working-class militants and the Negro people.

AS THE MASSES shed their blood in the most decisive battle against the small handful of ruling class advocates of fascism and genocidal war, their ranks were weakened by the absence of Jim Jackson. For he symbolized and embodies those qualities and skills of leadership most sorely needed now.

Proud son of the Negro people, Jim Jackson's indelible contributions to their struggles began when, as a student in the then-new public schools of his native Richmond, Va., he turned his exceptional mind beyond the classroom to find the answers to the very segregation of which he and his fellow people were the victims to the daily indignities and abuses which his people suffered at the hands of the "white supremacist" lords of the town, to the miserable wages of the factory "hands" in the tobacco plants, the plodding domestic workers and the servants in the big hotels, to the insufferable hovels and low-rents which the Negro workers of Richmond inhabited—and still inhabit.

SINCE THOSE early days, there are few basic struggles of the Negro nation and people in the South, or of the Southern workers and poor farmers, Negro and white which have not borne to some degree the imprint of his direct participation or his guidance of the class-conscious forces within them.

As the drive to break the Wall Street-fostered stranglehold on the political life of the South (and consequently the nation) takes shape in an ever more energetic and demanding movement for the full franchise, for Negro and populist representation, it is appropriate to recall that Jim Jackson and a small band of young Southerners launched the first anti-poll tax fight in Birmingham, Ala., in 1940. This observance soon flowered into a national campaign which reduced the number of poll-tax states from eight to five and stimulated voter registration movements among the Negro masses in every Southern state.

AND WHEN, in 1948, the first concerted effort of this generation was made to register Negroes to vote in Mississippi (paradise of the Ku Klux Klan), bitter-end defender of feudal oligarchy, current sponsor of the renowned "Citizens' Councils" aimed at terrorizing Negro citizens and prevent this barbarous throwback to the Middle Ages from losing their constitutional right to equal and integrated education, Jim Jackson was there as an officer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, spearheading the movement, rallying his fellow-Negro veterans to take advantage of their poll-tax exemption and vote.

In the eyes of the big-planter clique that rules Mississippi on behalf of finance capital, the advocacy of Negro voting in "their" state was strictly "illegal" in 1940. Jim Jackson had to find ingenious methods to get his message over to the Negro electorate. Regular-sized leaflets would be too bulky, but thousands of vets found in their hands little slips of paper, slightly bigger than a calling card and somewhat with the legend:

NEGRO VETERANS
You who laid old Hitler low,
Don't be scared of old Bilbo;
Just like Hitler's friend Tojo,
Bilbo, too, has got to go!
Register and Vote!
Join the S. N. Y. C.!

THERE WAS at least as much truth as poetry in Jim Jackson's "rallying cry." The exposure of the corrupt practices, fraud and intimidation which Bilbo used to keep Negroes from voting against him in 1946 led to a movement to deny him the seat he had held in the Senate by electoral methods term after term. The movement developed many perspectives and was stopped only by Bilbo's belated death early in 1947.

It was said in Mississippi that "The Man," as he was called, died of natural causes, aggravated by an overdose of Negro militancy stimulated by Jim Jackson.

As an inspirer and organizer of creative struggles of the Negro youth and people against lynching, against the murderous brutality of the police agents of the trusts and plantocracy, for jobs and upgrading, for schools, recreational facilities and cultural development, Jim Jackson stabilizes today a preferred place in the hearts of the Negro masses all over the South.

Further, for a period of 15 years he took part in every important general movement for advancement which involved Negro and white labor and progressive forces of the South.

In addition to serving as a founder, vice president and perpetual organizer of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, he participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, and many other movements which in any important way challenged the status quo of Negro oppression and Southern social backwardness.

JIM JACKSON'S revolutionary role in these movements stands as an effective refutation of the imperialist lie that the Communists join popular mass organizations to "use" them for some sinister motives. Throughout the South there are numerous leaders who could testify—and some day they will—that Jim Jackson's contributions to the organizations in which they shared with him the labor "in the best of the day" were always positive, helpful, and principled, whatever their differences on the fundamental questions of class struggle and the basic organization of society.

For Communists, Jim Jackson's mastery—though practice—of the united front tactic provides a model of great importance in carrying into life the objectives of the Party program. A primary characteristic of his style of work has been his persistent skill in developing mass struggles around the issues and through the organizational forms and methods closest and most congenial to the masses—all the while striving to raise a given campaign, project, or movement to higher levels of social consciousness and fighting capacity, all the while furthering the unity and initiative of Negro and white workers and the leadership of the Negro workers in the Negro liberation movement.

(To Be Continued)

WJ-2

(Exhibit WJ-2)

outstanding Marxist scholar: 1—a concrete and thorough examination of economic and social reality and the experience of the masses as the basis for political and theoretical conclusions and generalizations; 2—the abhorrence of dogma and the shunning of cliches, however hallowed by time and extravagant usage; 3—a bold creative 'pioneering' approach to new and unsolved problems; 4—a confident, but not mechanical, recourse to the accumulative experience of the world proletariat as summarized in the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

That's what the Communists think of the ability and the capacity of this man who is operating in your area. The reason why he was able to avoid arrest by the FBI for such a long time after he fled into Communist underground, when word leaked out that he had been indicted under the Smith Act, was due primarily to the fact that he had developed that unusual skill in eluding the police officers in the south. He had learned the lessons of the German, the Japanese, and the Italian, and other Communist parties that were functioning under illegal and semi-legal conditions. All the tricks, the chicanery, and the elusiveness and everything else that they used, and some more that he added to it. He took advantage of them in order to move and to operate very effectively in the south to the extent that he was able to set up all these instruments, which I have mentioned in my testimony, which the **Daily Worker** has so ably confirmed here in this article, and I would like to offer this second article for insertion in the records.

MR. SHAW: I ask that that be marked WJ-3 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-3 be made a part of the record of this committee. (See page 152)

A. I would like also—to save a little time—to introduce that article from the **Daily Worker** of March 9, 1955, page 4, which contains the names of the leaders of the Southern Regional Council, and I would like to say that the statement of the **Daily Worker** confirms the fact that the Southern Regional Council was formed by this fellow Jackson who was a member of the Communist Party. I would like to say it wouldn't have been as successful as it was if it were not for the fact that the little church office building presided over by Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church allowed them to have headquarters there at 63 Auburn Avenue.

Q. Did I understand you to say that Jackson was the founder of the Southern Regional Council?

A. That's correct, according to the **Daily Worker.**

Q. And they have offices where did you say?

A. In a little church office building presided over by Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church.

Q. That's in Atlanta, Georgia. Is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. Would you read the names of some of those people in that article that are listed—particularly any names that might be persons from this area?

A. I will read them all. It won't take me but a few minutes.

"Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C., Southern Regional



Page 4 Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, December 9, 19

WJ-3-01

Jackson, a Leader in Labor, Negro Struggle

Following is the concluding article on the occasion of the 40th birthday of James E. Jackson, Jr., Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of its national committee, who has lived the life of a political refugee.

By S. DuBOCK

Jim Jackson symbolizes such a deep involvement in the varied struggles of the Negro people during his entire mature life, a rich experience as an organizer of labor and builder of the anti-racism movement.

When the leaders of the Southern Negro Youth Congress undertook to organize the desperately exploited Negro tobacco workers and laborers in the Lucky Strokes and Export Leaf plants in Richmond in 1937-38, Jackson was the principal leader of the organizing drive and his time and a half (first in the history of the tobacco industry) which followed.

The misery which he and other youthful organizers had to rally the workers to organized resistance to $3-a-week pay envelopes, the spiteful abuse and hostile advances of "new-time" literature, "dancing rooms" in which women changed clothes behind barrel staves scrutinized by foul tobacco-leaf fumes; their success in mobilizing the support of all groups and classes in the Negro community in the form of money and food to maintain the workers' kitchens their success in organizing a supporting parade of white workers from Main Street through the heart of town—all this three last and paste into the bowers and spotted to Jim Jackson's living palate as a tranquillizer charge.

But eventually the strike was won and the victory of the Richmond tobacco workers, who joined the new CIO movement, led to the further organization of tobacco workers in Virginia and North Carolina and provided an important example and stimulus for the entire Southern organizing drive of the late Thirties.

NOT ONLY the tobacco workers, but the longshoremen of Louisiana and Texas, textile workers of the Carolinas, shipbuilders in Mobile, steel workers and miners in Birmingham and Tennessee, and surely to Jim Jackson's contributions to their struggles for better wages and working conditions and for trade union democracy.

And in Detroit literally thousands of Communist and progressive auto workers recall his unbelievable energy, great intellectual skill and his love for people when, as leader of the Communist workers at the huge auto plants, he helped guide the building and development of a left and progressive workers' caucus to oppose speedup, wage cuts, frauds, and discriminations in 1937-38 and 1940.

Thus, the stirring of organizers in the main vacuum of the Negro liberation movement and in various crucial struggles of the labor movement over a period of [illegible] years have built up a leader of rare quality. The people never need him to their service as the enormous days ahead.

MOST IMPORTANT, the two main ingredients that go to make up the revolutionary "Jim" in Jim Jackson—the love for Negro freedom and for labor's righteous fight—converged to an intensity that the core is the fire of Marxist-Leninist science.

At the time of the Smith Act [illegible] against the 17 leaders of the Communist Party, Jackson had begun to orient our [illegible] with his experience and [illegible] to our theory. His studies in political science, his [illegible] at Party conventions and conferences bore the marks of a mature and seasoned theoretical talent.

All this, [illegible] was there which [illegible] a full grasp of an [illegible] Marxist-Leninist: (1) a [illegible] and thorough examination of economic and social reality and the requirements of the moment as the basis for political and theoretical conclusions and generalizations; (2) the elimination of dogma and the shunning of clichés, however hallowed by time and extravagant usage; (3) a bold, creative, "pioneering" approach to new and unsolved problems; (4) a steadfast but not pedantic reference to the accumulated experiences of the world proletariat as summarized in the classical texts of Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin.

JACKSON'S theoretical contributions have been along two main lines. First, he has heightened the Party's understanding of the nature of the popular struggle in the South. He has consistently established us, as in his report to the 13th Party convention, that "... in our application always and in our Negro work we cannot win the battle against superstition, white chauvinism and reformism so long as work in these fields is characterized by a neglect and indecisiveness of the Party."

He proceeded in the same report to show that "The development at higher levels of the Negro national revolutionary struggle in the Black Belt, and the broad mass movement for democratic rights in the South as a whole is an indispensable prerequisite for securing the victory of the working class and the American people over the monopoly challenge of the ruling class forces of fascism and war personally, and for working class victory over capitalism, ultimately . . . This is a basic fundamental in the strategy for winning this victory, and a special feature of the path to the triumph of Socialism in our country."

Having before the Party the challenge of "the poorly appreciated fact that the South is that region of the U. S. where the most powerful revolutionary [illegible] may develop," Jackson has graphically illustrated and analyzed the three main components of the people's struggle in the South, namely: "(1) the special struggles of the workers, Negro and white; (2) the special struggles of the poor farmers, Negro and white; and (3) the struggle of the Negro masses for liberation and of the Negro people everywhere for equal rights."

And he points out that, "Above all, up from the backward South, there is growing in importance as a potentially powerful democratic and revolutionary force, the oppressed and [illegible] Negro nation, which is fighting and will fight, on a scale to get unmeasured for its liberation from the imperialist bondage of Wall Street-Dixiecrat dictatorship."

IN APPLYING the tools of Marxism-Leninism to that force [illegible] struggle for freedom of the [illegible] Negro nation — in outlining its present status and perspectives for the future, its relations with the labor movement, the aggression unmet and the Negro national minorities South and North, the relations

(Continued on Page 8)

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JACKSON

WJ 3-(2)

(Continued from Page 1)

dage and skepticism of the classes within it, its alliance with the liberation struggles in colonial lands and with the world peace movements headed by the socialist USSR—is to its field of investigation that my Red-baiting record is one area of examination in the Hiss case.

CLEARLY the need and the possibility of returning Jim Jackson and other experienced and tested working class leaders to the front line of struggle is greater than ever before.

The Negro liberation movement is on a new height and, as the object of the increasingly fascistic attacks of the Dixiecrats and their bourgeois masters, it faces a regular showdown in 1950. Which could be taken toward extended collaboration with the Big Business would be unknown of the colonial world and the consequent class [illegible] of the state rights which has to the Supreme Court decision of last May 17. Or toward more determined and relentless collaboration with an awakening labor movement and with the anti-imperialist progressive forces of the world—for only sure road to "Freedom by '52" and to complete liberation in our time.

JIM JACKSON'S experience, insights and energy are needed at the center of the Negro people's movement as the fateful decisions labor steps before us.

But Dixie's great political headache is matched, the organizing genius of Henry Winston, the [illegible] subsequent contributions of Pettis Perry, Claudia Jones and all the Negro cadres of South his persecution are reminded as never before in the many-sided, centuries-old struggle for freedom.

And at their side in this great battle, as in the battle for true working class policies in the labor movement, and for a powerful people's coalition for peace and democracy, must stand their comrades and colleagues in leadership of the Communist Party—Wm. Z. Foster, Gene Dennis, Eric Hall, John Gates, Bob Thompson, and all the others.

The rich life of Jim Jackson with the popular and labor successes of any kind can shared to any degree or another by all the leaders of the Communist Party. It is precisely these that distinguish true leaders of the people in the American class struggle which is the interest of their leadership of our Party. And probably those also, wherever they manifest themselves, are true servant to go to the American people with unprecedented vigor with the demand for recognition for political prisoners.

The possibilities for success in this struggle are growing. The [illegible] of the system for McCarthyism deepens from day to day. It must embrace the broadest masses in all its manifestations, and primarily in anti-Communist view.

We want use the occasion of Jim Jackson's 40th birthday to [illegible] countless and the determination, assure that the popular [illegible] will not achieve its goals in the [illegible] years, the battle for organization of Negro, working class advance in Negro freedom [illegible] Communists and in the first [illegible] the leaders of the Communist Party—wrecks the full rights of citizenship is that movement and in the nation.

(Exhibit WJ-3)

Council President; George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, Southern Regional Council executive director; Morris Abram, attorney, Atlanta; Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie, attorney, Atlanta; Paul Christopher, labor union official, Knoxville, Tennessee; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University; John A. Griffin, educator, Atlanta; Rev. Harold V. Richardson, president, Gammon Theological Seminary; the Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, Dean of the Roman Catholic Oratory, Rock Hill, S. C.; Miss Josephine Wilkins, civic worker, Atlanta; Dr. Albert W. Dent, president, Dillard University, New Orleans; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor emeritus, Virginia Union University; Carter W. Wesley, publisher Informer Newspapers, Houston, Texas, and Leonard Haas, attorney, Atlanta."

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-4 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-4 be made a part of the record of this committee. (See page 154)

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. I would like to ask you when that organization was formed. Do you have that information?

A. I don't know the exact date of it. I had it here somewhere, but I don't know.

Q. About how long has it been in operation? Can you recall? Does that refresh your memory any?

A. This report was in 1955, but I don't recall the exact time when it was actually formed. But this article states here that,

> **"Fourteen Negro and white experts on race relations today repudiated 'fraudulent leadership' which seeks to evade compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling of last May 17. Such leadership, the experts held, would deny 'Southerners of good will the opportunity to work toward . . . compliance with the Supreme Court Decision.' "**

Q. Let me ask you this. Do you happen to know who the incorporators of that organization were?

A. No, sir, I am just beginning to make a study of this organization, and until I complete that study, I wouldn't like to go into any detailed discussion of it. I am not saying in introducing all these names in here that these people were Communists, even though the records show that Communists formed the organization, but before I pass any opinion on any of the personnel or anything else, I would like to make further study, which I am going to do.

Q. You state that it was organized primarily by this man Jackson, who is—

A. That's correct, according to the **Daily Worker.**

Q. It is operating out of Atlanta, Georgia?

A. That's correct.

Q. Do you know whether or not it is still operating out of this same building where Bishop Arthur Moore installed it in Atlanta?

A. According to my information, it is.

Q. Is there any relation between the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and this Southern Regionl Council?

(Exhibit WJ-4)

ularly ominous, union spokesmen pointed out, because this is normally the boom season for farm equipment manufacturing here.

Unemployment in Milwaukee County is officially set at 24,000, which the paper called "low in comparison to what it really is." A check of the area's big plants revealed heavy layoff lists: Allis-Chalmers – 2,500; A. O. Smith – 2,000; Breweries–2,500; American Can – 400; Continental Can–300. Medium size plants are put as hard-hit, some with one-quarter of their force laid off, smaller ones down to one-half their normal work force.

Referring to official proposals for public works programs to meet a future unemployment crisis, the paper said: "The only trouble with this suggestion is that the anticipated crisis is already here!"

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3-9-1955

he identified labor leader Clinton Jencks as a Communist during a 1954 trial. He testified at a hearing to determine whether Jencks should get a new trial.

Matusow was the only Government witness at the 1954 trial who linked Jencks with Communist activities after Jencks filed a non-Communist affidavit under T-H.

Jencks, of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, was convicted here and sentenced to five years in prison, but he has been free on appeal bond.

new jobs.

Among the hardest-hit groups are the iron workers, with 700 of 1,360 union members laid off. Electricians are out of work for the first time in ten years.

About 300 of the union's 800 bricklayers are out of work, according to business agent John J. Higgins of Bricklayers' Local 45, who is also president of the Buffalo Federation of Labor. The number is double the normal figure for this time of year, he said.

resolutions strongly opposing any form of relief work other than properly paid public works. They said:

"Some municipalities have gone so far as to require persons to be willing to work on public jobs for credit against their relief claims, such credit being at a lower rate than usually paid to municipal workers, to the detriment of the applicant's dignity and the disadvantage of the regular municipal worker whose wage standards are threatened by forced labor."

sion in a bill on U. S. reserve forces specifying that all National Guard units, including those of the Air National Guard, "shall be open to qualified persons without regard to race."

He challenged subcommittee members not to "sound the alarm and subject the whole country to a program of compulsory military service" if "there is still time to cater to petty sectional prejudices based on race."

Spurn Bigoted Leaders, Southerners Urge

ATLANTA, Ga., Mar. 8 (Delayed). – Fourteen Negro and white experts on race relations today repudiated "fraudulent leadership" which seeks to evade compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling of last May 17. Such leadership, the experts held, would deny "southerners of good will the opportunity to work . . . toward compliance with the Supreme Court decision."

Among the 14 who signed the statement of the Southern Regional Council were educators, editors, labor leaders and religious leaders. Separating themselves and other southerners from the Dixiecrats, they declared:

"It is imperative that responsible Southerners confirm the fact that vast numbers of us will not defy the United States Constitution, the teachings of our religion and the prevailing opinions of the free world."

The southerners, the statement continued, would not be hoodwinked by measures taken by Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana legislatures against complying with the anti-segregation ruling.

"Most of these measures," the statement pointed out, "impose heavy penalties on local authorities of school systems that might choose voluntarily to comply with the Supreme Court ruling."

The fact that these measures have been adopted, the SRC leaders analyzed, is proof that the Dixiecrats do not believe that "most Negroes and virtually all white persons will defend segregation at any cost."

Coupled with these measures are attempts "by official leadership to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation," they pointed out.

The SRC leaders proposed that intelligent southern leaders set up local planning bodies to work out means of complying with the anti-segregation ruling.

Those signing the statement were: Marion A. Wright, Lintville Falls, N.C., SRC president, George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, SRC executive director; Morris Abram, attorney, Atlanta; Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie, attorney, Atlanta; Paul Christopher, labor union official, Knoxville, Tenn; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president Atlanta University; John A. Griffin, educator, Atlanta; Rev. Harold V. Richardson, president Gammon Theological Seminary; the Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, dean of the Roman Catholic Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.; Miss Josephine Wilkins, civic worker, Atlanta; Dr. Albert W. Dent, president Dillard University, New Orleans; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor emeritus, Virginia Union University; Carter W. Wesley, publisher Informer Newspapers, Houston, Tex., and Loomis Huss, attorney, Atlanta.

A. They are all Communist transmission belts, all fronts. They are all set up for a specific purpose to win over the Negro and bring him under the influence of the party. If the party were to approach them directly, they would shy away from them, because the average Negro knows a red light when he sees one; so naturally, the Communists use subterfuge such as these front organizations, especially "do good" organizations for the Negro. These Negroes who set themselves up as leaders along with these so-called liberal white and egg-head fellow travelers—they try to convince the Negro that they have the best intentions toward him. That reminds me of the story of the man "who killed a fly on his baby's head with a sledge hammer." He had the best of intentions, too.

Q. Let's pass on now to the consideration of the penetration of existing organizations by the Communist and subversive elements. What would you say with particular reference to the south in that regard?

A. The Communist Party has very successfully infiltrated the foremost Negro organization in this country. It is not exactly a Negro organization. It is a mixed breed of some type I will attempt to describe. But, anyhow, the Communists are working in—have infiltrated and are working through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Now, the reason the Communist Party has concentrated on the N.A.A.C.P. is because the N.A.A.C.P. in recent years has become one of the most influential Negro—or I should say mixed-breed—organizations in the country. They see in that organization the possibility of developing a national liberation movement, particularly in the south. The bulk of the units of the N.A.A.C.P. are located in the south.

The liberation movement, as I understand it and know it from training and experience in the Communist Party, means national Negro rebellion in the south stretching from across the old black belt, or the old cotton belt of the south, which has been designated in Communist Party literature as that area that begins on the eastern shore of Maryland, running a zig-zag course across the former Confederate States, driving a wedge in Texas. This is where they hope to develop this national liberation movement. Where they hope to set up this Negro Republic. They feel that by actively engaging the Negroes in movements of the type that they are advocating, they can eventually get them to go, step by step—gradually raising these issues to a political level where they will come into conflict with city authorities, state authorities, and even the President and Members of Congress. When they come into such conflict, as a result of the failure of Congress and the others to act upon their demands which they make, they will become disillusioned and will begin to develop a resentment and hatred of the authorities and "powers that be." And, as a result of this mass psychosis of hate, the Communists will be in a position to mold and fashion this hate into tools and instruments for national rebellion in this area. I brought that in, incidentally, to give you an inkling of what is meant when they speak of national liberation movement, and this is what they mean when they speak of the N.A.A.C.P. as being the national liberation organization of the Negroes in this country.

The Communist Party has always infiltrated the N.A.A.C.P. In fact, from the very beginning, if you will notice, the N.A.A.C.P. was never a Negro organization; it was never founded by Negroes. The N.A.A.C.P. was founded by white people and that should be clearly understood, and some of them were Socialists—Socialists, liberals, and philanthropists, and "do gooders." They were the ones. They set up a form of constitution that would insure that they would constantly control the organization; and that the Negroes would never have anything to say with regard to who formed policy; that the whites, who formed the organization and have all the posts in the organization, would decide what was best for the Negro.

The first Negro that they brought in to the N.A.A.C.P. leadership was Dr. W. E. DuBois. DuBois was the first. He was brought in and made editor of **The Crisis** magazine, which was published shortly after the formation of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1910.

DuBois was a good servant, and he served his white masters in the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. very well. Then later on other Negroes came in. Among them was James Weldon Johnson, who was the first Negro National Secretary; and, incidentally, I would like to point out that James Weldon Johnson, who was the first National Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., was also the owner—one of the owners—of **New Masses** magazine.

New Masses magazine is a Communist organ. Let me read from the **Communist International**, the Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published August 20, 1935, page 1111:

> **"The weekly journal, the New Masses, published especially for middle-class elements, and speaking openly as an interpreter of Communism, has won an outstanding place with a constantly widening influence."**

Q. I believe you said that James Weldon Johnson, who is one of the owners of **New Masses**, was the first Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. The first National Secretary, sir, and I would like to show you here the figures at this time—this photostat of the affidavit certifying statement of ownership.

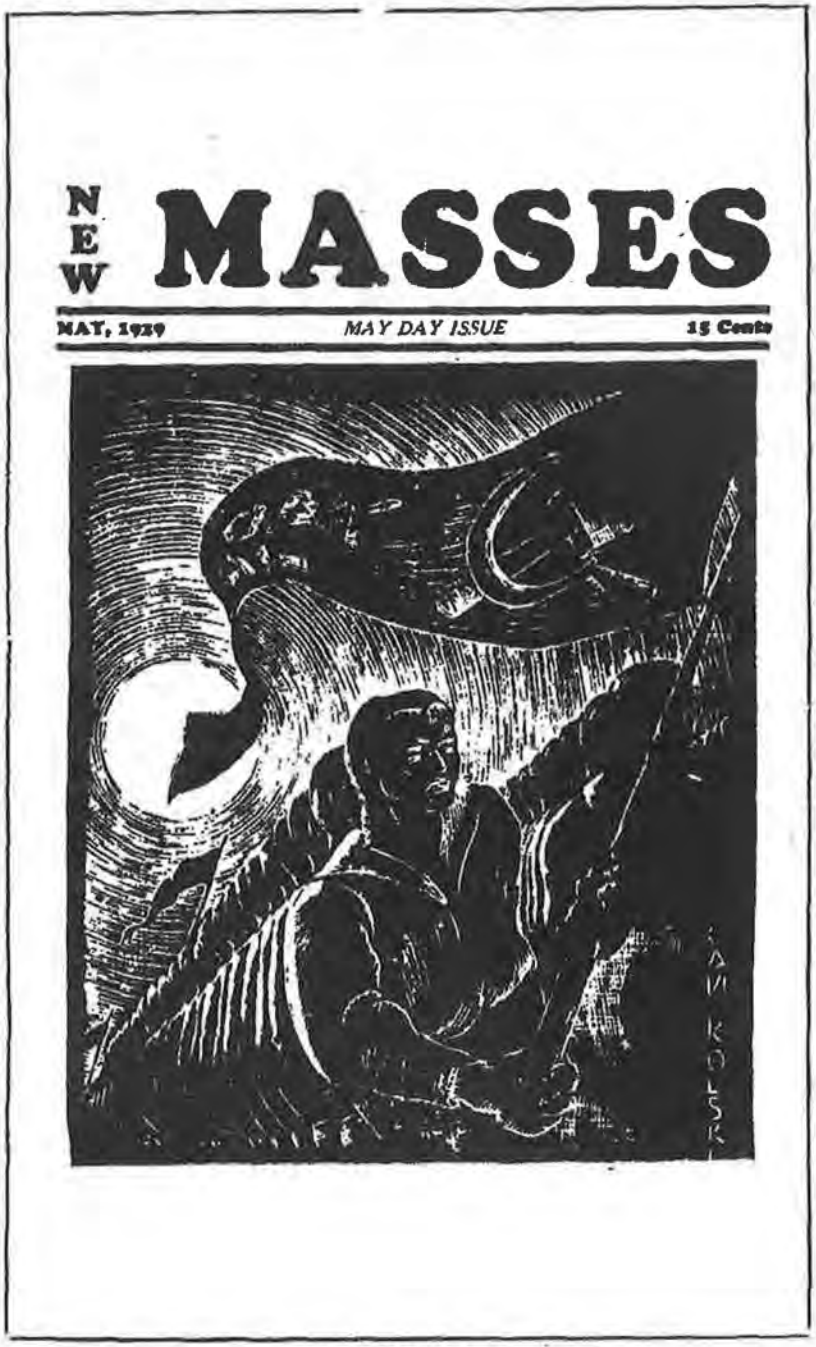
MR. SHAW: I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-5 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-5 be made a part of the record. (See Pages 157, 158)

A I would also like to point out that on the exhibit that was just introduced, if you will, that I have a photostat of the front page of **New Masses**, and if you will examine that you will find that thereon is the red flag emblazoned with the hammer and sickle—which is the official flag and the official emblem of the Communist Party. I would like to also give you this quotation from the **Communist International** on the Communist character of the **New Masses**.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that this be marked WJ-6 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-6 be made a part of the record. (See Page 159)



NEW MASSES

MAY, 1929 MAY DAY ISSUE 15 Cents

(Exhibit WJ-5a)



28

WORKERS' LETTERS

From Japan

Comrades:

In the midst of stormy reaction, we lost the most militant comrade Senji Yamamoto from our campaign. He was killed by a cruel murderer of white terrorism on the night of March 5th, 1928, at the hotel in Tokyo. He was the only M. P. by strong support of the Workers' and Peasants' Party (Rodo-Nonminto)—the most powerful revolutionary organization in our country—which was ordered dissolved by the reactionary Tanaka Government in April, 1928.

Comrade Yamamoto was fighting against bourgeois reaction, especially against the new anti-Communist Law ("Peace Preservation Law") in the Diet for the demands of the masses for the political freedom.

Comrade Yamamoto has not fallen in vain. His death unfold the banner of the Rodo-nonminto, inspires us to greater efforts in the class-struggle.

Comrades in all parts of the world! Remember Senji Yamamoto as the martyr of mass struggle with bitter tears!

Japan — TONAJI HOASHI.

From Prison

Dear Mike:

Several unhappy years ago, I made a discovery that all but surprised me out of my MIND with I learned that I was being grossly, systematically robbed of the precious fruits of my daily toil, by a tender hearted philanthropist named Morgan, or Rockefeller or something like that, and this knowledge made me somewhat warm. Right away I wanted my property back and I set out to get it back, and—well, I'm an ingenious kind of guy, and labor organizations and picket lines and soup but tendency seemed such slow and roundabout ways of going at the thing that I soon abandoned them and devised a plan whereby I thought I might get back my very few myself, and get it pronto. But my plan was too individualistic, it seems. Anyway, it didn't work, and shut, explains my inability to position a check for 1200 dollars and the New Masses. You see, Mike, my one-man revolution so riled the fraternity of fat ones that they put me in the can, where I've remained some four and half years cooling off and thinking things over. They've even denied me the right to be a good slave, since they no longer allow me to wear brass for quit farce as, I'm not quite certain that I'm not being exploited in some way, despite the free board and other luxuries) and, worst of all, they have made me a downright boon by refusing to honor my checks.

Best wishes to you and New Masses.

Sincerely yours.

From Carolina

Dear Friends:

We have received the following letter from our representative in the Carolina strike area which presents a vivid picture of the situation:

Gastonia, N. C., April 11, 1929.

In view of the mixture anti-union propaganda being spread by Manville Jenckes mill of Gastonia, through the medium of leaflets, of which enclosed are a sample, the local newspaper, hundreds of copies of which are distributed free of charge by the millowners, and by steel-pigeons and petty bosses, with the emphasis laid on the food question, it was absolutely necessary to open the store immediately. We began our relief work last Sunday. In addition to the necessity of counteracting propaganda, it was also necessary literally to stave off starvation. The material condition of the people here is far below that of the laborers of New Bedford Textile workers. They have absolutely no savings or source of credit. The company store "coupon" system meant that they practically never had a cent of cash. Their wages—$6.00, $8.00, $12.00 average per line for adult workers, meant that they always lived just a moment from starvation. I have talked to members who literally had only a nickel or a dime in the world—fathers and mothers of families—when they came out in strike.

The relief work is well under way. We rented a good store, large, cool (it is hot as hell here) and very well equipped with shelves, counters, lights, water, etc. It is just about seven doors from union headquarters and about a block from the mill.

We have a real first rate relief committee, primarily rumorproof and self reliant. The good thing about the committee is that they really feel their responsibility in the matter and take their job as serious union work.

General record since opening Monday afternoon is 125 families supplied on Monday, April 8th and 140 families on Tuesday, April 9th. Have no record of individuals yet for Monday, but today's covered 561 individuals.

In this town a "family" very often means 3 or 4 families, or a family and anywhere up to 12-14 boarders living in a company shack. One of our state committee, for instance, just told me that at Mc Lorine five families, including 22 persons, live in six small rooms. In one room of the house, 12x12 seven people, three married couples and one baby live.

If only you and funds the work will go on itself. Will spread out to other towns where strikes are as soon as funds warrant. But please hurry money. Have no idea where the devil money is to come from for orders we must have immediately.

Amy Schachter.

Funds for relief can be sent to the Workers International Relief, 1 Union Square,

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of New Masses, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1929.

State of New York,
County of New York.

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Horace L. Lyon, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the New Masses and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are: Publisher, New Masses, Inc., 39 Union Square, New York City; Editor, Michael Gold, 39 Union Square, New York City; Managing Editor, Joseph Freeman, 39 Union Square, New York City; Business Manager, Horace L. Lyon, 39 Union Square, New York City.

2. That the owners are: The American Fund for Public Service, 2 West 13th St., New York City; James Waldo Fawcett, Pres., 2 West 13th St., New York City; Mrs. M. Dana, Sec., 2 West 13th St., New York City; Morris L. Ernst, Treas., 2 West 13th St., New York City.

3. That the known bond holders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

HORACE L. LYON,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10 day of April, 1929.

Sidney Bernman, Notary Public.
(My commission expires March 30, 1930.)

IN THIS ISSUE

Bill Dunne—former editor of the Labor Defender and the Daily Worker has just returned from Mongolia.

Martin Hourwich—a silk weaver, is an organizer for the National Textile Workers Union.

Harvey O'Connor—is editor of the Federated Press.

Joseph Kalar—is working in a lumber mill, contributing to various poetry magazines and writing (as he says) some sketches of workers's lives for the *New Masses*.

Gus Kalaki—who designed our cover, is a young Polish artist whose work appears in the *Forum* and other publications.

Joseph Freeman—co-author of Dollar Diplomacy (with Scott Nearing) is at work on a book now.

Wm. Gropper—besides contributing to other radical publications, illustrating books, working as stage successful for the Jewish daily Freiheit, is also at work on a textile for his own to be named soon.

Paul Peters—is working on the [illegible] New Orleans. His book stories were [illegible] Naked to Darkness and the American Legion. One story from his play "[illegible]" [illegible]

(Exhibit WJ-5b)

WJ-6

THE
COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Published twice a month in English, Russian, German, French, Chinese and Spanish

VOL. XII AUGUST 20, 1935 No. 16

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Workers Library Publishers, P. O. Box 148, Station D, New York City
Subscription price: one year, $3; six months, $1.5; single copies, 20 cents

THE NEW STAGE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE 1111

who hesitated if not who were defeated and isolated by the anti-fascist united front.

The anti-fascist and revolutionary influence are penetrating deeply among the middle classes and intellectuals. A few signs of this are: the American League Against War and Fascism, at its Congress some months ago, had a representation of a million and a half affiliated members, combining trade unions and other workers' organizations with a multitude of middle-class organizations, churches, etc. The American Writers' Congress held recently, under the slogan of the fight against fascism and cultural reaction, and against war, with a clear declaration of alliance with all forces under working class leadership, brought together the most significant literary talent in America, exerting a great influence among the masses as well as in literary circles. The weekly journal, the New Masses, published especially for middle-class elements, and appearing openly as an interpreter of Communism, has won an established place with a constantly widening influence.

Among the 13,000,000 Negro people in the United States, our Party has made significant advances. A growing cadre of Negro Communists are winning wide mass influence among their own people, as well as generally in the revolutionary movement. The center of this work has been the fight to save the nine Scottsboro boys, and Angelo Herndon and the mass struggle for Negro rights that has arisen around these cases. The Communist Party and the International Labor Defense occupy a strong position in the respect and affection of millions of Negroes. This is now resulting in a broad unification movement, around the project for a National Negro Congress, in which the Communists openly participate together with almost all other elements with even a shade of anti-progressive character.

Even in the weakest field of our Party's work, among the farmers, there are some small successes, showing here also a growing hold for a broad united front movement.

The objective conditions exist fully, and the subjective conditions are rapidly maturing, for a broad, all-inclusive united front of the oppressed masses of the United States against hunger, fascism, and war, and for economic relief at the expense of the rich, for democratic rights and for peace—a movement that can quickly involve millions, and that can and must arise if fascism in the United States is to be repulsed.

VII. FOR THE STRONGEST PEOPLE'S ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

Since January, 1936, the C.P.U.S.A. has carried on a mass agitation campaign for the united front, to be carried on in the field of parliamentary struggle in the form of a federative Labor Party, around which should also be rallied the farmers and other toilers. This movement has taken hold among the masses, and organizational steps are under way on a local and regional scale, to realize it in life.

The time has come, however, already to broaden and deepen this

(Exhibit WJ-6a) (Exhibit WJ-6b)

A. This fellow James Weldon Johnson is quite a character. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of the Garland Fund. The Garland Fund, for your information, was set up by a guy who had a lot of money and possibly a guilty conscience, and he designated in his will that these millions that he left behind would be used to further the Communist causes in this country. I have here some copies of the report of the American Fund for Public Service, otherwise known as the Garland Fund, and it is interesting to know who the officers were of this Garland Fund! The ex-Communist Benjamin Gitlow—he was one of the leaders and founders of the American Communist Party, and he was kicked out of the Communist Party in '29. The notorious Communist woman, Clarina Michelson, whom I knew very well in the Communist Party, and Robert W. Dunn—he was a member of the National Communist Party for years. He is one of the old timers. He was head of Labor Research. In fact, his organization did most of the research work for the Communists, for their speakers, and eveything else. Then you had the notorious guy, Roger N. Baldwin, whose record of front association goes back over the years and his affiliation with subversive organizations is legion. Along with these well-known Communists is the name of James Weldon Johnson, the first National Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. What is also in-

teresting about this report is that substantial amounts of this money were given to support the work of the N.A.A.C.P.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Was it given to support their work, or was it given directly to the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. Given (or loaned) to them to support their work.

Q. Directly to the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. That is right. Just to give you an idea of some of the recipients of their benefits, I will read a few of them here—**Daily Worker, Navy Mir, Vanguard Press, Federated Press, International Labor Defense,** and Socialist institutions such as Red schools, to mention only a few. Now to give you an indication of the nature of the work of some of these organizations that were financed by the Garland Fund. **The Daily Worker**—and that's the official organ of the Communst Party. Now the International Labor Defense, the American Section of the International Red Aid, known as the Mopr, which was formed in Mopr City, U.S.S.R. by the Society of Old Bolsheviks back in 1923. This organization was the world leader of the Communist Party, defending and giving legal protection to Communists engaged in the activities of overthrowing the governments in their respective countries. These are *some of the organizations that this money went to support. I would* like to, at this time, give you this as an exhibit. You might want to use some of the excerpts in your record.

Q. This is a hearing of the Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities—House of Representatives?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. *Do you care to offer* in evidence also that report of the Garland Fund that you have?

A. Well, if you will arrange for me to get photostatic copies.

MR. SHAW: I will do that. I would like to ask that the Investigation Report of the House be introduced in evidence and marked WJ-7 for identification, and that the report of the American Fund for Public Service, or Garland Fund, be introduced in evidence for the years 1928 - 1930, introduced in evidence and marked WJ-8 for identification, and that the report of the American Fund for Public Service, or the Garland Fund for the years 1930-1934 be offered in evidence and be marked WJ-9 for identification, and we agree to substitute photostatic copies.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibits so marked, WJ-7, WJ-8, and WJ-9 be made a part of the records of this committee with the understanding that photocopies may be substituted for the originals. **(Exhibit WJ-7 omitted. Available in office of Committee.)** **(See Pages 161 and 162 for Exhibit WJ-8 and Page 163 for Exhibit WJ-9.)**

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Before you go any further, I would like to ask if substantial amounts of money were contributed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from this fund?

A. Yes, sir, you will find the exact amounts in that particular document, and I would suggest that, since it is difficult for me to recall figures to my mind, that you could insert those in the record. I mean relative to the contributions.

The American Fund for Public Service

Incorporated

Photo Reproduction
Ask your Congressman or Senator for a report on the communist-connected organizations and the identified Communists who were officers or directors

Report for the Two Years, 1928-30

Summary of Eight Years

2 WEST 13th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

May 1931

(Exhibit WJ-8a)

WJ-8

Report for the Eighth Year of Operation

GIFTS

July 1 1928—June 30, 1929

(Those marked * are items which were cancelled as gifts or as uncollectable)

	Total Made During the Eighth Year	$123,768 63
	PERIODICALS AND PUBLICATIONS—Total	$ 60,164 30
1	Conference for Progressive Labor Action, New York City—for the publication of pamphlets	$ 1,061 76
2	*Daily Worker, New York City—Loans of May 7th Mar 21 and May 6 1927 cancelled	6,871 00
3	*Equity Printing Company & Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago, Ill—balance due on mortgage loans, after sale of building and machinery cancelled	20,007 79
4	The Federated Press, New York City	
	(1) For general budget	4,000.00
	(2) For promotion campaign	1,000 00
5	International Pamphlets, New York City—for publication of 7 pamphlets on economic and social problems	1,400 00
6	League for Industrial Democracy, New York City—for publication of 8 pamphlets	1,700.00
7	The New Masses, New York City—For general budget	400 00
8	Art Shields and Esther Lowell, Federated Press correspondents—for research and writing on industrial conditions in the South and West	1,500 00
9	*Trade Union Educational League, New York City—loans of 1925 and 1926 cancelled	900 00
10	Vanguard Press, New York City—toward the series of studies on Russia	719 75

(Exhibit WJ-8b)

WJ-8

AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE, INC. 13

APPROPRIATIONS PLEDGED AND MONEY SET ASIDE FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

(As of June 30, 1930)

Campaign and court cases for Negroes' rights, under the direction of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	$100,000
For organizing unorganized workers	38,830
For workers' education	20,011
For Brookwood Labor College	40,000
For research and publications	11,200
For civil liberties and legal defense	43,224
For anti-imperialism work	19,040
	$272,451

BAIL FUNDS

June 30, 1930

National Surety Company $80,000

Total bail written (99 bonds) $243,100
Total bail outstanding (66 bonds) 165,000

NOTE.—The surety company entered into an agreement with the Fund to write bail to five times the amount of the security deposited with it.

Cash Bail Fund 27,670

Total cash bail furnished during two years $41,500
Amount outstanding June 30, 1930 18,500
Tied up in law suits 9,170

NOTE.—The $18,500 cash bail outstanding on June 30th was on the defendants convicted in the Gastonia, N. C. cases. All of it has been forfeited, but the Fund holds "judgment liens" on the International Labor Defense for repayment in case of default. The amount tied up in law suits was also placed in cases arising out of the Gastonia, N. C. strike.

(Exhibit WJ-8c)

WJ-8

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

ROGER N. BALDWIN
ROBERT W. DUNN
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEWIS S. GANNETT
BENJAMIN GITLOW
CLINTON S. GOLDEN
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
FREDA KIRCHWEY
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NORMAN M. THOMAS

OFFICERS

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, President
CLINTON S. GOLDEN, Vice-President
ROBERT W. DUNN, Secretary
MORRIS L. ERNST, Treasurer

Office Address
Room 412, 2 West 13th Street
New York City

(Exhibit WJ-8d)

AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE WJ-9

CHIEF ENTERPRISES AIDED DURING FOUR YEARS 1930-34

By Gifts

Brookwood Labor College, maintenance	$50,000
American Civil Liberties Union, national office and branches, for special campaigns and court cases	13,799
Gifts $11,938	
Loans cancelled 1,861	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, special litigation	8,082
Publication of studies on American imperialism	6,204
League for Industrial Democracy, Chicago office, maintenance	4,000
Federated Press, maintenance	4,000
International Publishers, for particular publications	3,194
Gifts 2,500	
Loan cancelled 694	
Mooney Billings campaign	2,780
Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry	2,058
Joint Action Committee, Paterson Silk Workers	2,000

By Cancellation of Loan.

International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in settlement by part payment of loan in 1926 strike	55,945
Associated Textiles, Inc., Minneapolis, uncollectable after securing judgment, on original loan of $50,000	40,767
International Labor Defense, national office and branches, forfeited bail and loans cancelled	37,239
Russian Reconstruction Farms, in settlement by part payment	28,097
Unity House, I.L.G.W.U., in settlement by part payment of $25,000 loan	6,750
League for Mutual Aid, for use as revolving loan fund	5,000
Independent Shoe Workers Union, uncollectable (no longer functioning)	2,000
Martello Book Store, uncollectable (no longer functioning)	2,500

(Exhibit WJ-9b)

AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE WJ-9 15

NOTES AND LOANS OUTSTANDING JUNE 30, 1934

(All loans marked * are secured by real estate, printing machinery or bail judgments. All other loans are secured by personal or organization endorsements).

* American Shoe Workers Protective Union, Brooklyn, N. Y.—various loans, and expenditures to protect loans	$ 17,430.00
American Student Delegation to Russia, New York City—Balance due on loans of March 26, 1926 to two students	430.00
Max Eastman, Croton, N. Y.—January 14, 1930—for film production	2,500.00
East Side Educational Center, New York City—balance on $1,000 loan of November 24, 1926	325.00
International Ladies Garments Workers Union, New York City.—due under settlement of loan of $111,891.45 of Sept 30, 1929	41,198.06
International Labor Defense, New York City—due from Michigan bail written in 1922-1928	2,850.00
Joint Board, Furriers Union, New York City—loan of June 2, 1927	45,000.00
Lenox Building, Washington, D. C.—loans of April 22, 1925, Jan. 20, 1926 and Dec. 31, 1929—$50 repaid. Balance	20,956.07
* Manumit School, Pawling, N. Y.—Aug. 25, 1926	18,000.00
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City.—Feb. 3, 1929—balance on $5,000 loan	850.00
* National Textile Workers Union, Local No. 2, New Bedford, Mass. —June 3, 1930—Balance on $500 loan	475.00
New Republic, New York City.—Oct. 29, 1925—Balance on $1,000 book publication subsidy	742.98
* Navy Mir, New York City.—July 22, 1925	3,000.00
John Spivak, Nov. 28, 1930	200.00
Vanguard Press, New York City.—Balance due on $45,000 notes received in payment of Fund's stock in the Vanguard Press	25,000.00
* Mortgages taken by the Fund in payment of applicants' real estate sold	19,300.00
Applicants' stock purchased—Oklahoma Leader Publishing Co.	20,000.00
	$228,687.11

BANK LOAN ENDORSED BY FUND

(Outstanding June 30, 1934)

Il Nuovo Mondo, New York City.—$3,000 loan plus accrued interest	3,485.00

(Exhibit WJ-9a)

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair would like to state at this time that as he recalls in examining the exhibits, one year a commitment of $100,000 was made.

A. Mr. Chairman, since W. E. B. DuBois was the first Negro in the N.A.A.C.P., I would like to state very briefly some of W. E. B. DuBois' record, so that you get an idea of what this man has been doing, and what this man is now doing. The public records and files indicate — the Daily Worker, for example, the Sunday edition, on April 27, 1947, reported that,

> "Almost 100 Negro leaders headed by W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson and Roscoe Dungee last week called upon President Truman to repudiate decisive steps to illegalize the Communist Party. As Negro Americans, we cannot be unmindful that this proposal to outlaw the Communist Party comes precisely when our present government professes great concern over the democratic rights of peoples in far distant parts of the world."

Before I read further, let me say that this Roscoe Dungee is a publisher, editor, of a southern newspaper, known as the Black Dispatch, and he is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Q. Do you know what state he is from?

A. I think he is in Atlanta.

SENATOR RAINACH: For your information, the Chair has used one of his articles several times, quoted from The Crisis, and he is from Oklahoma City.

A. Oklahoma, yes. Continuing, DuBois sponsored a statement attacking the arrest of the Communist Party leaders. According to the Daily Worker, August 23, 1948, he sponsored a "statement by Negro Americans" on behalf of the Communist leaders. Daily Worker, August 29, 1948, page 11, he filed a brief in the Supreme Court on behalf of the 12 Communist leaders. Daily Worker, January 9, 1949, page 3, "He signed statements on behalf of Communist leaders, as shown in the following sources: Daily Worker, January 17, 1949, page 3; February 28, 1949, page 2; and in 1952, he signed an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act." Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4, "DuBois was one of the sponsors of the National Non-Partisan Committee to defend the rights of the 12 Communist leaders," as shown on the back of the letterhead dated September 9, 1949. A statement on behalf of Eugene Dennis, a Communist, containing a signature of Dr. DuBois, "a dignified educator," Daily Worker, May 5, 1950, page 2: "He signed a telegram to the National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims, greeting Eugene Dennis, former Secretary of the Communist Party, on his 48th birthday." Eugene Dennis, of course, as you know, was the former general secretary of the Communist Party.

The Daily Worker, August 2, 1945, disclosed that Dr. DuBois endorsed Benjamin J. Davis, the well-known Communist who was convicted under the Smith Act. He was the honorary chairman of the committee to defend V. J. Jerome, the man responsible for Communist infiltration of the stage, screen, radio, and television. He is a noto-

rious man who penetrated Hollywood, set up cells out there to subvert your motion pictures and your mass media of public information. V. J. Jerome, incidentally was Chairman of the Cultural Committee of the Communist Party, leader of the Civil Rights Congress. The Daily Worker dated March 20, 1947, names Dr. DuBois as having defended Gerhart Eisler.

Gerhart Eisler, as you know, was the Communist International representative operating in this country, who had come over here — or rather was sent here by Stalin — to work with the Communists in the overthrow of the government of the United States. He was arrested for illegal entry after he had used a false birth certificate to get a passport so he could go to Spain under orders of the Communist International. When he returned to the United States after his sojourn in Spain, during the Spanish Civil War, he was later on charged with illegal entry, and I testified in his trial at Washington, D.C., in 1947— in the summer of 1947 — which resulted in his conviction. While out on bail pending appeal, he fled the country on the Communist ship, the Batory. They took him off in England, but under English law they couldn't hold him for American affairs, so he was permitted to reboard the ship and go on to Russia. Today, as I understand it, he is a big shot in the Communist Eastern Government. This is one of the characters that DuBois, the founder of the N.A.A.C.P. is fighting for.

He was one of the sponsors of the committee to defend Alexander Trachtenberg, a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. Alexander Trachtenberg is head of Workers Library Publishers and International Publishers. Those are the two publishing agencies that publish all of the Communist books and literature that flood this country from day to day. Millions and millions of copies. That man is the one that is responsible to Moscow for the dissemination and spread of subversive literature in the form of pamphlets and books. Not a book, not a pamphlet of any kind is ever issued in this country except through the direction of Alexander Trachtenberg.

This is the type of person that DuBois supports. I could go on with this man's record, because his associations with the Communist Party are legion. Today, DuBois, in my opinion, is an evil, frustrated, wicked, old man, sucking at the teats of the Red bear, and looking to the devils of the Kremlin for his vindication and salvation. At the present time, as you know, his capacity is Honorary Chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Q. Would you care to go any further in this association known as the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. Yes, sir, I would. I would like to go a little more into the formation of the N.A.A.C.P. Now, I have before me here photostats from The Negro People in American History, by William Z. Foster, who is head of the American Communist Party. This book was published by International Publishers in New York, headed by Alexander Trachtenberg in 1948. Now, William Z. Foster has a section on pages 422 and 423 on the founding of the N.A.A.C.P., and I would like for the record to read

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just a couple of short paragraphs — I quote:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was organized on May 30, 1909, in New York City, as the National Negro Committee. It was formed in response to a call sent out on Lincoln's hundredth birthday anniversary by 55 prominent liberals and Socialists, Negro and white. Among the Negro signers of the call were William E. Bulkley, a New York school principal; Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett of Chicago; Dr. DuBois of Atlanta; Reverend Francis J. Grimke, Bishop Alexander Walters, and Dr. J. Milton Waldron of Washington. Among the white liberals signing the call were Professor John Dewey, Jane Addams, William Dean Howells, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, Dr. Charles E. Parkhurst, Louis Wald, Mary E. Wooley, and Susan P. Wharton. There were also several white Socialists among the signers, including William English Walling, Charles Edward Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Mary E. Dreier, Florence Kelly, and Mary W. Ovington."

Now, **"The national composition of the N.A.A.C.P.,"** I am continuing the quote, **"differed from that of the Niagra Movement, the latter being a Negro organization, whereas the N.A.A.C.P. united Negro and white. Both were middle class in their leadership, and the N.A.A.C.P. remains so to the present day. The liberal whites were predominant at the start and for a long time afterward. DuBois was the only Negro among the original executive officers.**

I have one more quote: **"There were, it is true, several prominent Socialists among the founders of the N.A.C.C.P.; but they acted more in the spirit of liberals (which their support of World War I demonstrated them to be) than as Socialist Party members. There were no trade unionists among this group. Characteristically, they never even made the slightest fight to get the Socialist Party to endorse the N.A.A.C.P. or to support its Negro rights program. Consequently, few Negroes became Socialists. Dr. DuBois joined the Party in 1911."**

This gives you an indication of the composition of the N.A.A.C.P. at its inception. What you must bear in mind, gentlemen, is the fact that from the very inception of the N.A.A.C.P. you had a number of Socialists in a position of leadership. I will attempt to explain the role of these Socialists and their relationship with the Communist Party as we proceed.

BY MR. SHAW: I would like to offer in evidence the document entitled **The Negro People in American History**, by William Z. Foster, that is, the photostatic copy and excerpts from the same and ask that it be marked WJ-10 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-10 be made a part of the records of this committee. (See Pages 167, 168.)

The committee will recess for 15 minutes. We will go back into session at 20 minutes until 4.

RECESS

The NEGRO PEOPLE *in* AMERICAN HISTORY

WJ-10

William Z. Foster



INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

1941

(Exhibit WJ-10a)

established. In the American tradition much has been said about the gunmen of the West, but he was a mild figure compared to the innumerable cold-blooded gun-toters who have stalked—and continue to stalk—the highways and byways of the "Sunny South."

THE FOUNDING OF THE N. A. A. C. P.

This was a period of intense struggle, of the rapid organizational growth and ideological development of the toiling masses. The A. F. of L. membership climbed up from 600,000 in 1900 to 2,000,000 in 1914, with new unions being established in many crafts and industries. The Socialist movement also expanded rapidly. The Socialist Party increased from but 10,000 members in 1900 to a high point of 120,000 in 1912. Although woman suffrage was yet to come, the S. P. received 897,001 votes in the national election of that year. This was likewise the period of the foundation and historic struggles of the I.W.W. The Syndicalist League of North America was also born during this period, in 1912.

In tune with the rising spirit of struggle of the working class, the Negro people also made great strides toward organization strength and ideological clarity. They dealt increasing blows against their many vicious enemies. Their main achievement in this respect was the creation of the N.A.A.C.P.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was organized on May 30, 1909, in New York City, as the National Negro Committee. It was formed in response to a call sent out on Lincoln's hundredth birthday anniversary by 55 prominent liberals and Socialists, Negro and white.* Among the Negro signers of the call were William L. Bulkley, a New York school principal; Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett of Chicago; Dr. Du Bois of Atlanta; Reverend Francis J. Grimké, Bishop Alexander Walters, and Dr. J. Milton Waldron of Washington. Among the white liberals signing the call were Professor John Dewey, Jane Addams, William Dean Howells, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, Dr. Charles E. Parkhurst, Louis Wald, Mary E. Woolley, and Susan P. Wharton. There were also several white Socialists among the signers, including William English Walling, Charles Edward Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Mary J. Dreier, Florence Kelly, and Mary W. Ovington.

The organization organized under its present name at its second national conference, in May 1910. Moorfield Storey, who had been

(Exhibit WJ-10b)

The national composition of the N.A.A.C.P. differed from that of the Niagara Movement, the latter being a Negro organization, whereas the N.A.A.C.P. united Negro and white. Both were middle class in their leadership, and the N.A.A.C.P. remains so to the present day. The liberal whites were predominant at the start and for a long time afterward. Du Bois was the only Negro among the original executive officers. Haywood thus describes the set-up: "It was the pattern of white ruling-class paternalism which, as time went on, was to cast an ever-deepening shadow over the developing Negro liberation movement, throttling its self-assertiveness and its independent initiative, placing before it limited objectives and dulling the sharp edge of the sword of Negro protest."[9]

The N.A.A.C.P. carried on many campaigns against lynching and Jim Crow in the years before and during World War I. It combated segregation laws in Winston-Salem, Atlanta, Richmond, Roanoke, Louisville, and other cities. In 1912, it was instrumental in having the Southern Railway reverse its decision henceforth to employ only white workers in skilled trades. By 1914, the organization had spread into many Northern states; it had some 9,000 members in 50 branches, among them four in colleges. At the outbreak of the war, the circulation of *The Crisis* was about 20,000 copies.

In the beginning, the wealthy Northern white philanthropists who were interesting themselves in the Negro people, looked askance at the N.A.A.C.P. They preferred such crippling activities as those cultivated by Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee. Later on, however, the organization, by its increasingly conservative course, was able to win the support of these people, including such figures as Mrs. Cyrus H. McCormick and Harvey Firestone. The capitalist intervention of big capitalists, notorious exploiters of labor, in movements designed to better the status of the Negro people has been characteristic since the end of the Civil War. Their influence on Negro leaders has always been a corrupting one and has served to tone down their radicalism. This paternalistic concern over the welfare of the Negro is explained by the capitalists' basic interest in cultivating the Negro workers as a convenient force for exploitation. The direct influence and participation of big capitalists—the Morgans, Rockefellers, Carnegies, Rosenwalds, and the Ehe—in the organizations of the Negro people has always been, and continues to be a major handicap in the Negro's upward fight.

(Exhibit WJ-10c)

5,073 votes against 11,974 for Gompers. But the Socialists never challenged the Jim Crow policies of the Gompers bureaucracy. Indeed, they tolerated the Jim Crow exclusion policy in some of the unions they directly controlled, notably the machinists. There were, it is true, several prominent Socialists among the founders of the N.A.A.C.P.; but they acted more in the spirit of liberals (which their support of World War I demonstrated them to be) than as Socialist Party members. There were no trade unionists among this group. Characteristically, they never even made the slightest fight to get the Socialist Party to endorse the N.A.A.C.P. or to support its Negro rights program. Consequently, few Negroes became Socialists. Dr. Du Bois joined the Party in 1911; but sinking no roots in its infertile soil, he quit it in 1912.

The year 1913, the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, was one of jubilee for the Negro people, and celebrations were held all over the South. It was a time of stock-taking on the progress that had been made in the acquisition of farms, businesses, and capital; in the liquidation of illiteracy, the production of literary works, and the creation of a body of Negro teachers, doctors, lawyers, scientists, and other professionals; in the building of the press and the growth of other Negro organizations and institutions. In all these fields notable progress was registered in the face of heart-breaking oppression and difficulties. But a vast mountain of work lay ahead. The main thing shown was that the young Negro nation was on the march ideologically and politically, readying itself for the big struggles and movements before it.

(Exhibit WJ-10d)

SENATOR RAINACH: Counsel will proc... th the questioning of the witness.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. When we recessed, we were discussing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Would you care to continue with that discussion?

A. Yes, sir, I would. I have before me excerpts from a book, **Negro Liberation** by Harry Haywood, **International Publishers**, 1948. Harry Haywood is a Negro Communist. He was trained in Moscow, and he is considered the foremost authority on Negro rebellion in the World Communist Party. He has written more articles on the subject than any other leader of the American Communist Movement, or International Movement, as far as that is concerned. In his book here he brings out some very important things which I think should be incorporated in the record so that you gentlemen may get a complete and composite picture of the N.A.A.C.P. as an organization. I wish to quote, beginning on page 185.

Before I begin that, I want to say that the Communists inside the N.A.A.C.P. have sought for a long time to break the rule of the group that control the organization from the top. You will recall that I stated that when the white persons in the beginning set up the organization, they instituted a constitution that would centralize and concentrate all power in their hands so that they could decide, as a group, what was best for the Negro. Well, when the composition of the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. began to change, that is, when there became more Negroes and less white persons in the higher echelon of the N.A.A.C.P., the Negroes and whites continued to operate under this same constitution. They made a regular family affair of it. They could remove anyone that they wanted to and bring in anyone that they wanted to. The rank and filers never had anything to say, insofar as the election of any single officer in the N.A.A.C.P. is concerned.

Whenever an officer resigns or drops dead, the group gets together and picks someone else to come in. And all of them set themselves up automatically — both the whites and the Negroes — as the leaders and spokesmen for the Negro people.

This is an imposition. It was an imposition in the beginning for the whites to presume to speak for the Negroes, and it was an imposition for these Negroes and whites in coalition to sit in their ivory tower sipping tea and cocktails and deciding the fate of the Negro in America. I, personally, resent that, and I am sure that every intelligent Negro resents it, but DuBois, along with all the Communists, sought to democratize the organization, to break the iron-clad grip that this small clique of white intellectuals, philanthropists, and Negro puppets and watch dogs have over the organization.

The only way the Communist Party could control it was to get that constitution changed. They had infiltrated the N.A.A.C.P. into the lower levels and the branches and state organizations, and they had their representatives, of course, at the conventions. But conventions are only places where everybody shoots off a lot of hot air. They pass a few resolutions, but the ruling body, the board, decides on policy. In order for the Communists to infiltrate the higher echelons

—which I will deal with later—they must infiltrate below. But in order to seize complete control of the N.A.A.C.P. and use it as a liberation vehicle for black rebellion in this country, they will have to change the constitution, and that's what they are seeking to do.

The revolt of W. E. B. DuBois against the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. was in protest against this particular handicap to the Communists taking complete control of the N.A.A.C.P. lock, stock, and barrel, and Harry Haywood in his book deals with that. In the light of that background, I would like to read these few quotations, beginning at Page 185:

"DuBois urged tackling of the basic needs of the Negro people, their pressing demands for economic reform. He demanded a break with the orientation toward upper-class Negroes, upon which the association in later years had come to rely, and who 'regarded it as a weapon to attack the sort of social discrimination which especially irked them; rather than as an organization to improve the status and power of the whole Negro group.'

"In order to effect these changes DuBois called for a radical overhauling of the organizational set-up of the association. Declaring that the leadership was a self-perpetuating clique, and that policies for the 'welfare of Negroes were being worked out in small committees responsible to no one,' he demanded more democracy, more autonomy to local braches, and the drawing of young blood into the leadership. In sum, a radical reorientation in policy, as well as in the domain of organization set-up, was needed 'if the organization (was) to fulfil its historic role.'

"DuBois was among the first of the top stratum of the Negro upper-class intellectuals to see the handwriting on the wall, and to perceive the trend of national sentiment among the Negro masses, although, at the time, his opposition assumed the form of a program of voluntary segregation."

Continuing, **"DuBois having deepened his understanding of social evolution by a study of Marxism, sought a break from the decades-old tutelage of white philanthropy. His was an attempt to strike out on an independent course. That the political program he then espoused bore the earmarks of Negro separatism was mainly due to the still existing isolation of the Negro."**

It goes on to say, **". . . his insurgence, backed by the sharp upswing of these trends in the subsequent period, opened a new chapter in the policy of the organization. The status quo of upper-class leadership, though not broken had been jarred and the organization, willingly or unwillingly, had to make some concessions to the demands of the new situation or give up altogether the claim of leadership."**

Now, we come down to the essence of the matter on page 187:

"Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to draw the conclusion that this increased activity was accompanied by any basic alteration in fundamental strategy. The decisive voice in national policy still rests in the hands of a more or less closed top circle of Negro upper-class intellectuals en bloc with white liberals, Social-Democratic reformists, and outright imperialistic element."

Ralph Bunche, writing in 1940, pages 187-188, Negro Liberation, observed, and I quote:

". . . the evident concern for the opinion of the white supporters of the organization, especially on the part of the National Office, has been a powerful factor in keeping the Association thoroughly 'respectable' and has certainly been an influence in the very evident desire of the Association to keep its skirts free of the grimy bitterness and strife encountered in the economic arena.

". . . the South must be subjected to new agrarian and industrial revolution before any significant changes in the fundamental relationship—political, economic, or racial—will occur. That is what the N.A.A.C.P. apparently lacks the understanding and courage to face."

In other words, what Ralph Bunche is saying here is that the only way the problems in the south can be solved is by revolution. The Communists say the same thing. The Communists put it this way—that the bourgeois democratic revolution was never completed in the south; that is, the Civil War did not complete it, but another revolution is necessary. That is the revolution they seek to foment through the Negroes in the black belt of the south. Ralph Bunche echoes this same thing when he speaks of an agrarian and industrial revolution. That means a complete destruction of the whole tenant farming system of the south upon which southern agriculture exists. It means a complete and fundamental and foregoing change is the only way that he declares this betterment of race relations can be achieved for the Negro's liberation.

Haywood continuing in **Negro Liberation**, page 188, himself says:

"Broadening the leadership, refreshing it with forces more representative of the broad masses and of Negro labor, has to some extent been forced. But the dominant group has sought to restrict this to such Negro leaders as the Social-Democrat A. Philip Randolph, whose ideas and outlook must closely approximate those of the entrenched clique. The mandate of the rank and file of the Negro masses has generally been pursued haltingly and not without considerable resistance by this controlling group. The National Board has remained in the hands of the [illegible] bureaucracy, which, through co-option and elections has ret[illegible]ffective control of the organization's policies.

"Despite these barriers, the floodgates [illegible]ru[illegible]elow have been pushed ajar, permitting the in[illegible]ve of the local branches. These branches, led by a local[illegible]dership, in which the voice of Negro labor has been increasi[illegible]resented, especially in many places in the South, have init[illegible]led significant struggles and campaigns around local and national issues, and constitute a continuous militant pressure upon the national leadership. Of particular significance in this regard is the movement for the Progressive Party among large sections of the rank and file and local leaders of the organization, in all parts of the country."

In other words, what Harry Haywood is saying is that the Com-

munists have successfully infiltrated the N.A.A.C.P. on the lower echelons. That is the reason why many of the local leaders and branch officers went in for support of Henry Wallace for President, because the Progressive Party was a Communist vehicle. This is a matter of record. He further says on Page 189:

"Whither the N.A.A.C.P.?" And he goes on to answer, "must rest with the mass, progressive forces within the N.A.A.C.P."

"Mass, progressive forces"—"progressive" indicates "Communist." Communist and fellow travelers are considered "progressive."

Anybody who is not Communist, or fellow traveler, or who does not see their way is considered reactionary.

Harry Haywood continues on Page 189, **Negro Liberation:**

"To the degree that these forces are successful in the struggle to translate the program of the organization into deeds to secure full inner democracy .....will it play a vital and constructive role among Negro people."

They have got to have that "democracy" in order to gain control of the organization completely, "and to establish unity with the advancing forces of progress." That is the Aesopian language for Communism, "the advancing forces of progress." Those are Aesopian terms that the Communists use to avoid coming out boldly and saying the Communist forces "will play a vital and constructive role among the Negro people."

Q. What is the date of that book?

A. 1948.

Q. This is a description by a Communist of the status of the N.A.A.C.P. as of that date, is that right?

A. Yes, sir. This is a book written by a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee, a world authority on the Negro Problem. He, Harry Haywood, wrote that book, and that's what he states in there with regard to what his people are doing inside the N.A.A.C.P.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this exhibit in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-11 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-11 be made a part of the record of this committee. (See Pages 173, 174)

A. In 1930 the late Walter White was called before the Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, on September 26 or 27, 1930. I just wish to quote one or two questions and answers that Walter White gave in connection with the hearing, regarding Communist activities within the N.A.A.C.P.

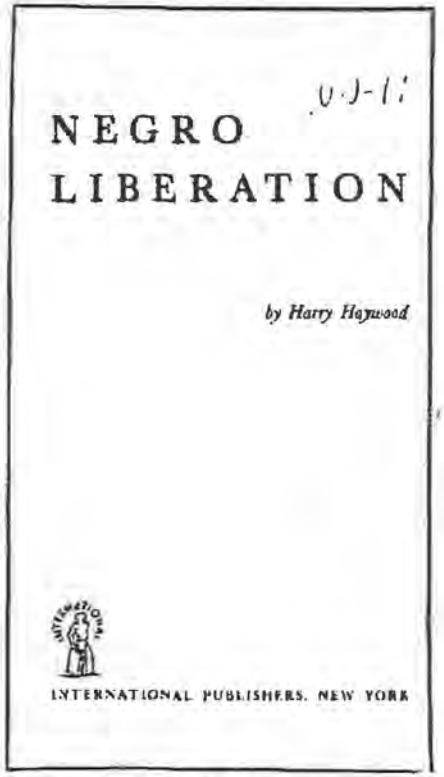
"Mr. Bachmann: 'You have been fighting against the Communists?'

"Mr. White: 'No, that is not our task, as we conceive it; it is not the purpose of the organization. We are not pro-Communists or anti-Communists in our organization.'

"Mr. Bachmann: 'Your organization is maintaining a neutral attitude, then in that respect?'

"Mr. White: 'Yes.'

"Mr. Bachmann: 'In other words, as far as your organization is concerned, it is all right for any of the members who feel so

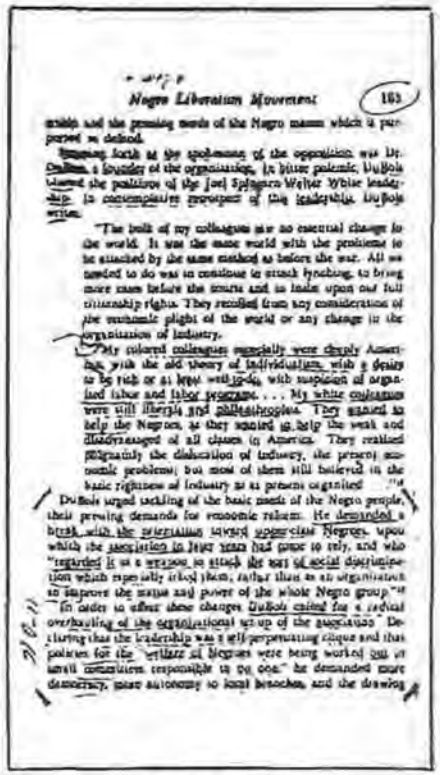


NEGRO
LIBERATION

by Harry Haywood

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

(Exhibit WJ-11a)



Negro Liberation Movement 163

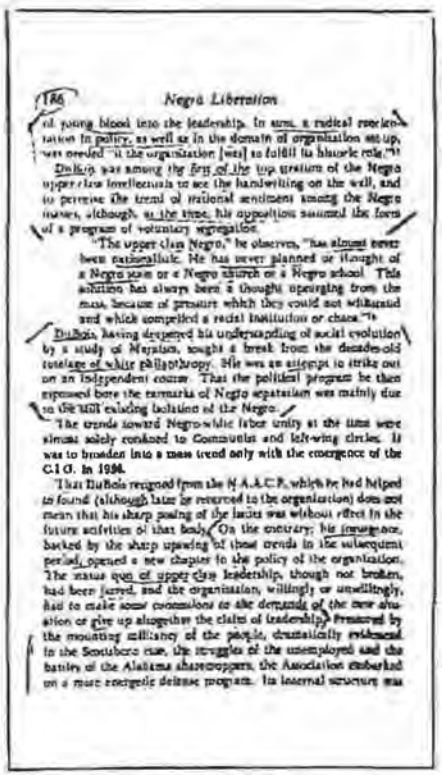
ership and the pressing needs of the Negro masses which it purported to defend.

Stepping forth as the spokesman of the opposition was Dr. DuBois, a founder of the organization. In bitter polemic, DuBois blasted the position of the [sic] Spingarn-Walter White leadership. In contemplative viewpoint of the leadership, DuBois writes:

> "The built of my colleagues are no essential change in the world. It was the same world with the problems to be attacked by the same method as before the war. All we needed to do was to continue to attack lynching, to bring more cases before the courts and to insist upon our full citizenship rights. They recalled from any consideration of the economic plight of the world or any change in the organization of industry.
>
> "My colored colleagues especially were deeply American with the old theory of individualism, with a desire to be rich or at least well-to-do, with suspicion of organized labor and labor programs. . . . My white colleagues were still liberals and philanthropists. They wanted to help the Negroes, as they wanted to help the weak and disadvantaged of all classes in America. They realized poignantly the dislocation of industry, the present economic problems; but most of them still believed in the basic rightness of industry as at present organized."[10]

DuBois urged tackling of the basic needs of the Negro people, their pressing demands for economic reform. He demanded a break with the orientation toward upper-class Negroes, upon which the association in later years had come to rely, and who "regarded it as a weapon to attack the root of social discrimination which especially irked them, rather than as an organization to improve the status and power of the whole Negro group."[11] In order to effect these changes DuBois called for a radical overhauling of the organizational set-up of the association. Declaring that the leadership was a self-perpetuating clique and that policies for the welfare of Negroes were being worked out in small committees responsible to no one," he demanded more democracy, more autonomy to local branches, and the drawing

(Exhibit WJ-11b)



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of young blood into the leadership. In turn, a radical reorientation in policy, as well as in the domain of organization set-up, was needed "if the organization [was] to fulfill its historic role."[9]

DuBois was among the first of the top stratum of the Negro upper-class intellectuals to see the handwriting on the wall, and to perceive the trend of militant sentiment among the Negro masses, although, at the time, his opposition assumed the form of a program of voluntary segregation.

> "The upper class Negro," he observes, "has almost never been nationalistic. He has never planned or thought of a Negro state or a Negro church or a Negro school. This solution has always been a thought upsurging from the mass, because of pressure which they could not withstand and which compelled a racial institution or chaos."[10]

DuBois, having deepened his understanding of social evolution by a study of Marxism, sought a break from the decades-old bondage of white philanthropy. He was an attempt to strike out on an independent course. That the political program he then expressed bore the earmarks of Negro separatism was mainly due to the still existing isolation of the Negro.

The trends toward Negro-white labor unity at the time were almost solely confined to Communist and left-wing circles. It was to broaden into a mass trend only with the emergence of the C.I.O. in 1936.

That DuBois resigned from the N.A.A.C.P. which he had helped to found (although later he returned to the organization) does not mean that his sharp posing of the tasks was without effect in the future activities of that body. On the contrary; his resignation, backed by the sharp upsurge of these trends in the subsequent period, opened a new chapter in the policy of the organization. The status quo of upper class leadership, though not broken, had been jarred, and the organization, willingly or unwillingly, had to make some concessions to the demands of the new situation or give up altogether the claim of leadership. Pressured by the mounting militancy of the people, dramatically evidenced in the Scottsboro case, the struggles of the unemployed and the battles of the Alabama sharecroppers, the Association embarked on a more energetic defense program. Its internal structure was

(Exhibit WJ-11c)



Negro Liberation Movement 187

...mented, permitting more flexible and initiative by the local branches and an increased orientation towards mass recruitment.

With these modifications in policy and organization, the stage was set for the activities of the Association during the period of World War II. Aided by the dominant liberal trend in the country, it climbed up an impressive record on the American Negro sector of the world anti-fascist front. Its activities devoted mainly to the fight against Jim-Crow discrimination in the war effort in the armed forces and in the campaign for the support of President Roosevelt's policy of Fair Employment Practice.

As a result of its energetic policies, the Association, for the first time in its history—although the stage of a mass movement among Negroes. It emerged from the war with an organization of a half million members, and with more than fifteen hundred local branches scattered throughout the country in the key communities of urban Negro life. Its program, reflecting the pressure of the new mass forces, was widened to include such issues as repeal of the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law, legislation for migratory and displaced farm workers and the rising cost of living incorporated in resolutions adopted at the thirty-eighth conference of the Association in June 1947.

Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to draw the conclusion that this increased activity was accompanied by any basic alteration in fundamental strategy. The decisive voice in national policy still rests in the hands of a more or less closed top circle of Negro upper-class intellectuals in labor with white liberals, Social Democratic reformists, and even the imperialistic elements. Ralph Bunche, writing in 1940, observed:

> "... the evident concern for the cohesion of the white supporters of the organization, especially on the part of the National Office, has been a powerful factor in keeping the Association thoroughly 'respectable' and has certainly been an influence in the very evident desire of the Association to keep its skirts free of the grisly bloodiness and strife encountered in the economic arena.
>
> "... The South must be subjected to a new agrarian and industrial revolution before any significant changes in the fundamental relationships—political, economic, social—will occur. This is what the N.A.A.C.P. apparently lacks the understanding and courage to face."[10]



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That the orientation of the Association has not basically changed is evidenced by the wangling in the National Board of Kay Johnson, former head of the National Association of Manufacturers, at present star of Hollywood and outstanding propagandist for American monopoly capitalism.

Broadening the leadership, refreshing it with forces more representative of the broad masses and of Negro labor, has to some extent been forced. But the dominant group has sought to restrict this so-called Negro labor leaders as the Social-Democrats A. Philip Randolph, whose ideas and outlook most closely approximate those of the entrenched clique. The mandate of the rank and file of the Negro masses has generally been pursued haltingly and not without considerable resistance by this controlling group. The National Board has remained in the hands of the top bureaucracy, which, through co-option and elections, has retained effective control of the organization's policies.

Despite these barriers, the floodgates of revolt from below have been pushed ajar, permitting the increased initiative of the local branches. These branches, led by a locally elected leadership, in which the voice of Negro labor has been increasingly represented, especially in many places in the South, have initiated and led significant struggles and campaigns around local and national issues, and constitute a continuous militant pressure upon the national leadership. Of particular significance in this regard is the emergence for the Progressive Party among large sections of the rank and file and local leaders of the organization in all parts of the country.

Whither the N.A.A.C.P.? Can it meet the new requirements and tests which must inevitably emerge in the developing struggle for Negro liberation? Will it be able to move forward with the Negro masses whose consciousness of nationhood is bound to increase under conditions of sharpening imperialist oppression? Will it be able to raise its sights high enough to recognize the enemy clearly: American imperialism, with its real aim of war and fascism? Will it realize its great potential as a democ-



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cratic people's force, as will the course of the top policy-makers, characterized by compromise and vacillation on the most vital issues in the struggle for Negro rights, be allowed to convert the organization into a vehicle for reaction? Will the grass-roots upsurge of the Negro masses, expressed in the hostility towards the program of reaction and war pursued by the old, dominant political parties, place an effective stamp on the N.A.A.C.P.? Or will the leadership, persisting in their support of the smokescreen of anti-communism with which the forces of reaction are covering their offensive against the common people at home and abroad, be allowed to impose a course on the organization which can only violate the best interests of the Negro people and isolate it from its true allies, the militant and progressive labor movement? In the last analysis the answer to the question, "Whither the N.A.A.C.P.?" must rest with the mass, progressive forces within the Association. To the degree that these forces are successful in the struggle to translate the program of the organization into deeds, to ensure full inner democracy, and to establish unity with the advancing forces of progress, will it play a vital and constructive role among the Negro people.

The National Urban League

Prominent in the list of organizations for Negro improvement is the National Urban League. Founded in 1911 as a social service organization, the League undertook a program of assistance to newly arrived Negro migrants from the South and their problems of adjustment to northern urban life. The organization has a limited field of activities, confined mainly to job placement of Negroes, community improvement projects, schools, playgrounds, public health clinics, and housing projects in Negro neighborhoods. The local organizations have served as employment agencies with their primary task to "find jobs, more jobs and better jobs for Negroes."* The League also initiates conferences, investigations, and surveys, and furnishes information and recommendations to government agencies.

Doubtless the League, particularly in many of its local organizations, has made significant contributions in the Negro welfare

Exhibit WJ-11d) **(Exhibit WJ-11e)** **(Exhibit WJ-11f)**

disposed to join the Communist movement?'

"Mr. White: 'Well, we have no right to dictate to any member of our organization what his political, religious, or any other belief might be, as long as he is interested in the work of the association, and the things we are attempting to do.' "

In other words, Walter White, the late secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, states very definitely his views on the matter. All of the later pronouncements — anti-Communist pronouncements of Walter White, I might add here, were used merely for the purpose of trying to frighten somebody. Basically, Walter White was never against the Communists, because he joined with them in numerous Communist front movements, some of which I will cite as we go along. But the fact still remains that he tried to use Communism to further his own personal ambitions, clear his own skirts, and create the impression that as far as this organization is concerned, it is in the bag for the government, while at the same time the Communists were actively infiltrating the organization from below. He was supremely confident, knowing that the power rests in the executive board, the top echelon. He knew that he would be safe in his job, safe from Communist infiltration.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence this photostatic copy from the hearings of the Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, and ask that it be marked WJ-12 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-12 be made a part of the records of this committee. (See Page 176)

A. Mr. Chairman, there is one thing I would like to clear up here on this whole conflict between some of the people in various parts of the country — relative to whether the N.A.A.C.P. is against the Communists, or for them, or what-not. I think I can show by some of the documents that I have before me that it is true that the Communists — that the N.A.A.C.P. has made certain pronouncements against the Communist Party. These pronouncements have been made by some of the top leaders, most notoriously a white man who's in charge of labor by the name of Herbert Hill.

Let us examine the composition of some of these people who have been in the driver's seat in the N.A.A.C.P. You have this peculiar combination. You have Negroes. You have white philanthropists. You have Communists, fellow-travelers, some egg-heads, and idealists, and people who know not what they want, combined with Socialists, and Trotskyites. The people most influential are the Socialistic elements inside the Executive Board of the N.A.A.C.P. They are the ones who are screaming against the Communists, because they want to control the Negro movement for themselves. The Socialists want to control the Negro movement for the Socialist Party, and in order to do that they have got to kill off the Communists who are inside continually pressing on them to gain control over the movement. So, it is a family quarrel between the Socialists, the Social-Democrats, the Trotskyites and the Communists — all of whom are concentrated in the organiza-

WJ-10

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 220

PROVIDING FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 3—VOLUME No. 4

NEW YORK, N. Y.
SEPTEMBER 26 AND 27, 1930

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON: 1930

(Exhibit WJ-12a)

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, have they caused you any real annoyance in any way?

Mr. WHITE. Not particularly.

Mr. BACHMANN. By interfering with any of your members?

Mr. WHITE. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. You have been fighting against the communists?

Mr. WHITE. No; that is not our task, as we conceive it; it is not the purpose of the organization. We are not procommunists or anticommunists in our organization.

Mr. BACHMANN. Your organization is maintaining a neutral attitude, then, in that respect?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, as far as your organization is concerned, it is all right for any of the members, who feel so disposed, to join the communist movement?

Mr. WHITE. Well, we have no right to dictate to any member of our organization what his political, religious, or any other belief might be, as long as he is interested in the work of the association and the things we are attempting to do.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do the communists maintain here a counter organization to yours?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I would not call them a counter organization. As I said before, they have been sharply critical of us. I do not think their purpose is to oppose us, particularly, but they do not agree with us.

Mr. BACHMANN. Are you familiar with the activities, generally, of the communists in so far as your group is affected?

Mr. WHITE. Only in a general way. With such reports as come to us, we hear of individuals who are interested in what is going on in Russia. The Negro Press, for example, has carried a good deal—well, recently, there was an incident where two white Americans were expelled from Russia for beating a negro in Russia, and that has been featured considerably in the Negro Press of the country.

Mr. NELSON. They deported those men for 10 years, as I remember it?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr White, as I understand, your organization's primary function is to uphold the interests of your group throughout the country?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Has your organization any connection with the American Negro Congress?

Mr. WHITE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your organization send any delegates to attend the American Negro Congress meeting on the other side?

Mr. WHITE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of your officials or any of your officers go over there to attend their meeting?

Mr. WHITE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, are any members of the American Negro Congress members of your organization?

Mr. WHITE. Not that I know of. I do not think so.

(Exhibit WJ-12b)

tion itself.

So, you will find pronouncements against the Communists on the part of the leadership, and if you will examine them you will find that they are the Socialists. Surely A. Philip Randolph — he is a Socialist. He will condemn the Communists because he wants to control the Negroes in this country for the Socialists. Herbert Hill — he wants to control them for the Trotskyites. And so on down the line. Others want to control them for the Communists. But there is one thing they all have in common, and that is that their programs and policies are based upon the teachings of Karl Marx. The only difference between the Social-Democrats, the Communists and the Trotskyites, basically, is the question of strategy and tactics. The Socialists believe it can be done one way; the Communists believe it can be done another. So there is a conflict, and all of them are fighting over the poor Negro. They want to use him in their political plans.

Now, I have here an article in an official Communist publication which I want this committee to have. To show you what the Communists say about these people and their relationships with the party, let me read just a few paragraphs. This is the key to the whole situation, as far as the attack against Communists by the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. is concerned. This article is entitled, "Is There a Common Ground?" by G. D. H. Cole. This is taken from Masses & Main Stream. This is a successor to New Masses. This is the interpreter of Communism among the intellectuals. It was formerly known as New Masses. Now, it is known as Masses & Main Stream. Now, I quote,

" 'Socialism and Communism have nothing in common.' These are the opening words of a statement issued last month by the Bureau of the Socialist International. What nonsense they are! Indeed, what nonsense even those who approved the statement must know them to be! I do not dispute that there are immense and deep differences between the doctrines upheld by the Social Democratic and Labour Parties which form the Socialist International and those upheld by the Communist Parties which until only the other day were united in the Cominform. But even between these two groups — neither of which can be completely identified with "Socialism" or "Communism" — it is sheer nonsense to say that there is nothing in common. The differences between them may be wide and deep enough to stand formidably in the way of cooperation; but, even so, there are beyond question many ideas that are common to both. Fully as much as Roman Catholics and Protestants and Orthodox have in common that they are all Christian Churches, Social Democrats and Communists of the late Cominform brand, and also Yugoslav Communists, Nenni Socialists in Italy, and the Socialists of the Asian International are all Socialists, albeit of different kinds, and with different traditions.

"What have they in common? First and most obviously, the belief that the essential instruments of production ought to be collectively owned and used in the service of the whole society and its people and for furthering the common interests of all the peo-

ples of the world. They are all against capitalism—that is against private exploitation of the world's resources, and of those who work upon them, for the pursuit of private profit. They may hold varying views about the most appropriate forms of collective or social ownership; but this is not an issue on which a sharp line can be drawn between Communist and Socialist views. It is not a matter on which Social Democrats are in full agreement, or on which there is a single, uniform Communist dogma applicable to all countries or to all branches of production or service.

"Fourthly, Social Democrats and Communists are at one in believing that the main responsibility for the building of a new society rests on the working-class, and that the organized working-class movement must supply the main driving force for its achievement. There are, indeed, deep differences about the ways in which the workers should organize themselves for this purpose, and about the methods they should use in order to carry off the victory. But there is a common belief in the creative function of the working class and about its historic mission to create the conditions requisite for a classless society."

One more paragraph — this is on page 6.

"Thus, in the present situation, I not only welcome the signs of some appreciation of past misdeeds on the part of the leaders in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, but also believe that Social Democrats must get ready to hold out the hand of friendship to men with whom, despite all their differences, they do have a great deal in common. I do not suggest that the time has come for 'Cominform" Communists and Social Democrats to sink their differences; but I do hold (1) that it is time for friendly discussion between the parties of the Socialist International and such bodies as the Yugoslav Communists, the Nenni Socialists, and the Asian and African anti-imperialists and, (2) it is time, too, for the Social Democratic parties to ask themselves seriously whether they are doing their utmost to establish Socialism in their own countries, and if not, why not.

"I also believe the time has come for individual Socialists and Communists to begin talking with one another, very seriously and with the least possible mutual recrimination, about the issues that divide them, in the hope that they may, even if only in the long run, succeed in building on what is agreed between them a basis for reuniting the world working-class movement for a common struggle against capitalism, imperialism and reaction. For finally, what nonsense it is to suppose that a Socialist world can be built by Socialists (including Communists) who spend more time and energy in denouncing one another than in combating their common enemies."

This, sir, indicates that the Socialists and the Communists were fighting for control over the course of the Negro in America. At any time they can come together and cease their recrimination, and the Negroes will be left at the tender mercies of those who seek to use them and exploit them for the overthrow of the government in the United States.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. I notice that this article is from an issue of **Masses & Main Stream** dated July, 1956. Is that correct?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is this magazine still in any way owned by the former Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. No, sir. He is dead.

Q. He is dead now?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was a former owner of it at that time?

A. Yes, sir.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-13 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-13 be made a part of the records of this committee. (See **Pages 180, 181**)

Q. Would you care to proceed with your testimony?

A. Yes, sir. I have here to corroborate what I am talking about. I have here an article in June 1949, **Political Affairs**, written by James W. Ford. The subject is "The Communist Party: Champion Fighter for Negro Rights." Now, on Page 47, James W. Ford has this to say:

> **"Today, the reactionary Social-Democratic and reformist trade-union bureaucrats are playing a particularly treacherous role in the Negro peoples movement and among Negro workers in the trade unions. They are trying to tie the Negro people to the bipartisan war program of U. S. imperialism. Walter Reuther, Joseph Curran, and other reactionary Social-Democratic leaders are worming themselves into the top leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. and other Negro organizations."**

What is alarming in this is that the Socialists and the Trotskyites are making more headway in capturing Negro organizations than the Communists, and Ford is laying it on the line here for the Communists to redouble their efforts to defeat the Social-Democrats and gain control of the Negro movement.

I might say, Mr. Chairman, I don't care whether it's the Socialism of the Socialists or the Social-Democrats, or the Socialism of the Trotskyites, or the Socialism of the Communists — they are all anti-American. They are basically anti-capitalism; they all seek in one form or another the destruction of the government of the United States. They have one thing in common. They are based upon the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of real Communism. I don't think that white Americans or black Americans want either brand of this Socialism, and I think that it is well to warn the American people, both white and colored, that they should shun away from the Social-Democrats, the Trotskyites, and the Communists, and stick to the firm and sound and solid foundation of Americanism, upon which our great republic rests.

Q. Did I understand you to state that the present Executive Board of the N.A.A.C.P. is under the control of Social-Democrats, Socialists, Communists, and/or Trotskyites?

A. Yes, sir, I read that they are, and they are fellow-travelers, some of

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(Exhibit WJ-13a)

Is There a Common Ground?

By G. D. H. COLE

"SOCIALISM and Communism have nothing in common." These are the opening words of a statement issued last month by the Bureau of the Socialist International. What nonsense they are! Indeed, what nonsense even those who approved the statement must know them to be! I do not dispute that there are immense and deep differences between the doctrines upheld by the Social Democratic and Labour Parties which form the Socialist International and those upheld by the Communist Parties which only the other day were united in the Cominform. But even between these two groups—neither of which can be completely identified with "Socialism" or "Communism"—it is sheer nonsense to say that there is *nothing* in common. The differences between them may be wide and deep enough to stand formidably in the way of co-operation; but, even so, there are beyond question many ideas that are common to both. Fully as much as Roman Catholics and Protestants and Orthodox have in common that they are all Christian churches, Social Democrats and Communists of the late Cominform brand, and also Yugoslav Communists, Nenni Socialists in Italy, and the Socialists of the Asian International are all Socialists, albeit of different kinds, and with different traditions.

What have they in common? First and most obviously, the belief that the essential instruments of production ought to be collectively owned and used in the service of the whole society and its people and for furthering the common interests of all the peoples of the world. They are all against capitalism—that is against private exploitation of the world's resources, and of those who work upon them, for the pursuit of private profit. They have all varying views about the most appropriate forms of collective [illegible] ownership; but this is not an issue on which a sharp line can be drawn between Communist and Socialist views. It is not a matter on which Socialists are in full agreement, or on which there is a single, [illegible] Communist dogma applicable to all countries or to all branches of production or service.

Socialists and Communists agree in seeking to establish for all peoples some sort of "welfare" state or society, in which great attention is paid to providing the widest possible social and educational opportunities, a high degree of economic security, adequate conditions of living for

(Exhibit WJ-13b)

children and old people as well as for the working producers, good and generally available health services, and a host of other social services running on a recognition of basic human claims. Here again, there is no sharp line between Communists and Social Democrats: there are differences in what is done and advocated under different conditions from one country to another, but there is no difference of fundamental principle in this wide field of social action.

Thirdly, it is a matter of agreement between Communists and Social Democrats that no one should in body and mind has any good claim to live on the product of other men's labor, without contributing a fair quota of his own, and that accordingly the forms of unearned income which allow this ought to be swept away. There are differences concerning the means of bringing this about, and the speed at which it should be done; but there is, I think, no difference concerning the end in view; though there are differences both between Communists and Social Democrats and also within both groups about the extent of economic equality that is consistent with Socialist principles.

Fourthly, Social Democrats and Communists are at one in believing that the main responsibility for the building of the new society rests on the working-class, and that the organized working-class movement must supply the main driving force for its achievement. There are, indeed, deep differences about the ways in which the workers should organize themselves for this purpose, and about the methods they should use in order to carry off the victory. But there is a common belief in the creative function of the working class and about its historic mission to create the conditions requisite for a classless society.

THUS we find very large and important points of agreement between Socialists and Communists of every sort and kind, and they are so plain that it is evidently ridiculous to ignore them. Indeed, the leaders of the Socialist International cannot possibly be taken as meaning what they say: when they do mean in fact, despite all that various forms of Socialism and Communism have in common, their points of difference with the "Cominform" parties are so deep and so important as to render any co-operation impossible.

Is this really the case? And if it is, where is the line to be drawn? Are the Yugoslav Communists to be put beyond the pale because they are

(Exhibit WJ-13c)

and tradition of the people who are to accept it as their way of political life. There are, however, certain conditions that any humanly satisfactory system must be designed to meet.

It must allow wide freedom for the expression of divergent opinions, within limits that are bound to exist in any society and will vary according to the situation: it must allow freedom to organize for the furtherance of such opinions, within similar limits; and these freedoms must include personal security for those who advocate the various opinions against arbitrary arrest or liquidation. To this extent, it is true that "without freedom there can be no Socialism," or rather no Socialism is is legitimate to pursue, though in conditions of war, civil or international, or of immediate danger of war, the limits will unavoidably be narrower than in conditions of peace and relative security.

THUS, in the present situation, I not only welcome the signs of some appreciation of past misdeeds on the part of the leaders in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, but also believe that Social Democrats must get ready to hold out the hand of friendship to men with whom, despite all their differences, they do have a great deal in common. I do not suggest that the time has come for "Cominform" Communists and Social Democrats to sink their differences; but I do hold (1) that it is time for friendly discussion between the parties of the Socialist International and such bodies as the Yugoslav Communists, the Nenni Socialists, and the Asian and African anti-imperialists, and (2) it is time, too, for the Social Democratic parties to ask themselves seriously whether they are doing their utmost to establish Socialism in their own countries, and if not, why not.

I also believe the time has come for individual Socialists and Communists to begin talking with one another, very seriously and with the least possible mutual recrimination, about the issues that divide them, in the hope that they may, even if only in the long run, succeed in building on what is agreed between them a basis for reuniting the world working-class movement for a common struggle against capitalism, imperialism and reaction. For, finally, what nonsense it is to suppose that a Socialist world can be built by Socialists (including Communists) who spend more time and energy in denouncing one another than in combating their common enemies!

(Exhibit WJ-13d)

whose records I would like to read to the committee as we go on. This morning in the testimony of Leonard Patterson, he mentioned about Camp Hill, Alabama, and Gastonia, and I thought since I ran across these, I would like to read just two quotations from here to substantiate much of his testimony. For example, on page 45, James W. Ford says,

"The heroic struggles of the sharecroppers' union organized by Communists in Alabama in the early thirties electrified the South and had its repercussions throughout the land. The struggle of the sharecroppers' union at Camp Hill, Alabama, prevented the landlords from cutting off food supplies of tenants," etc.

Then he goes on to say, **"Ralph Gray, Negro sharecropper of Camp Hill, heroically gave his life in the fight of the starving croppers for bread.**

"At Gastonia, North Carolina, Negro and white textile workers led by Communists successfully organized into a textile workers union and, for the first time in the South, white and Negro workers jointly waged a dramatic struggle in a major industry."

I think those two will show you that going back to those years, back in the late '20s and early '30s this concentration work in the south has been on the way, and it can no longer be ignored.

MR. SHAW: I would like to offer that in evidence. That is a quotation from **Political Affairs** magazine of June, 1949, and I ask that it be marked WJ-14 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-14 be made a part of the record. (See Pages 183, 184, 185)

I wish to read some excerpts from pages 27 and 31 from an article "On the 40th Anniversary of the N.A.A.C.P.," written by Edward E. Strong. He was one of the founders of the Southern Youth Congress, and he was head of the youth section of the National Negro Congress. This article is contained in **Political Affairs**, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party. Now, on page 27, Edward Strong has this to say:

"Politically, therefore, the orientation of the Left and progressive forces in the N.A.A.C.P. is that the Negro people cannot rely on the Truman Administration or on the bipartisans for satisfaction of their demand. Only the path of mass struggle, in close cooperation with all democratic, anti-facist and anti-imperialist sections of the American people can secure victory in the fight for the political, economic and social equality of the Negro people."

In other words, what he is saying here is that the N.A.A.C.P. is infiltrated. This is indicated in the use of the words, "the Left and progressive forces in the N.A.A.C.P." These are the terms they use to mean Communism.

Now, on page 31, **"This article has gone into some detail on the background of the N.A.A.C.P., the political orientation of its leadership, its policy and program, because understanding of these facts is essential in determining the tasks that face the Left-progressive forces within that body."**

I might say here that this magazine is a theoretical organ of the Communist Party. These articles constitute the political line and

WJ-14

VOL. XXVIII, No. 6 JUNE, 1949

political affairs

Editorial Board: V. J. JEROME, Editor, ABNER W. BERRY, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, JACK STACHEL, MAX WEISS

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(Exhibit WJ-14a)



CHAMPION FIGHTER FOR NEGRO RIGHTS 45

the particularly vicious economic and political oppression of the Negro race in America and pledges itself to extend its struggle to free all toilers to include the political and industrial emancipation of the Negro toilers and farmers.*

Although the Communists were subsequently excluded from the Convention by the Red-baiters, they had succeeded in raising the political demands of the Negro people before the entire country. Following that, in its own election campaign, particularly in the national elections of 1932-'36-'40, the Communist Party not only ran Negro candidates on its national,** state, and local tickets, but, by the "timeliness of its appeal to the workers of the nation and its unequivocal stand against Jim Crowism, bigotry and color prejudices" (Associated Negro Press), shook the hold of the two old parties of capitalism on the Negro people.

Real emancipation: full exercise of their right to complete equality; full right to organize, vote, serve on juries and hold public office; equal right to jobs; equal pay for equal work; establishment of heavy penalties against mob murder, lynchers, with the death penalty for lynchers; enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States,

were among some of the basic demands which the Communist Party fought for in its national election campaign. (From the Election Program of the Communist Party, 1936.)

The heroic struggles of the sharecroppers' union organized by Communists in Alabama in the early thirties electrified the South and had its repercussions throughout the land. The struggle of the sharecroppers' union at Camp Hill, Alabama, prevented the landlords from cutting off food supplies of tenants and staved off the terror of the Alabama landowners. During the years of the "Great Depression," Negro and white farmers and city dwellers, led by Communists, fought together against evictions and for unemployment relief. Some of these battles were furious and bitter. In Chicago, Cleveland, and other major cities, powerful struggles were put up against evictions; in some cases, because of the brutality of the police, workers paid with their lives. Abe Gray was killed by police in Chicago, and soon afterward John Rayford was murdered by Cleveland police at an eviction protest demonstration. Ralph Gray, Negro sharecropper of Camp Hill, heroically gave his life in the fight of the starving croppers for bread.

At Gastonia, North Carolina, Negro and white textile workers led by Communists successfully organized into a textile workers union, and, for the first time in the South, white and Negro workers jointly waged a dramatic struggle in a major industry.

In all of these struggles, the Ne-

* Daily Worker, June 21, 1924.
** Earl Browder was Vice-Presidential candidate on the Communist Party ticket in 1932, 1936, and 1940.—Editor.

(Exhibit WJ-14b)

policy the Communists are to follow within the N.A.A.C.P. Edward Strong is writing for the National Committee of the Communist Party, and he is giving the Communists inside the N.A.A.C.P. the line of policy they should pursue in the fight for control of the N.A.A.C.P.

Now, **"During the last few years, the Left and progressive forces in the Association have at times exhibited a number of incorrect tendencies in their work which, if persisted in, would impede their efforts to build the organization into a powerful force in the Negro liberation movement."**

So, the objective then of the Communist Party, according to Mr. Strong, is to transform the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People into an instrument for Negro rebellion in the south.

Continuing, page 32, **"The progressive forces in the Association that fall into this tendency work without a correct understanding of a united front policy, fail to ally themselves with the advancing currents in the broad membership of the organization that are seeking a line of struggle, and consequently end up by**

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struggles against the reactionary ruling-class ideology of white chauvinism.

Earl Browder's "integration" theory eliminated the Marxist-Leninist approach to the Negro question as a national question and dulled the struggle for Negro rights. It could only lead to opportunism and to capitulation to white chauvinism. It could only hold back the working class from forging its historical alliance with the Negro people, from assuming its role of fighter for Negro rights and Negro national liberation. Only by ideologically shattering the opportunist and revisionist views of Browder, was the Party able to clear the path for struggle against white chauvinism and get back on the track of Marxist-Leninist struggle for Negro rights and Negro national liberation. As is evident from the currently intensified struggle which our Party is waging against white chauvinism, Browderism had a demoralizing influence and effect on our Party and on the whole progressive movement. The continued alarming manifestations of white chauvinism within our Party, revealed during the present struggle to latest out that pernicious imperialist infection, also reflect the intensified campaign conducted by the bourgeoisie, as an integral part of its drive toward war and fascism, to poison the minds of the masses with chauvinist nationalism directed, on the home scene, primarily against the Negro people. Only to the extent that white Communists lead the struggle against white chauvinism and destroy the "privileged" position which white chauvinism accords to whites, can Negro Communists lead an effective and successful struggle against petty-bourgeois reformism and nationalism and thereby cement the alliance between the working class and the doubly oppressed Negro people.

* * *

Today the reactionary Social Democratic and reformist trade union bureaucrats are playing a particularly treacherous role in the Negro people's movement and among Negro workers in the trade unions. They are trying to tie the Negro people to the bipartisan war program of U.S. imperialism. Walter Reuther, Joseph Curran, and other Right-wing and reactionary Social-Democratic leaders are worming themselves into the top leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. and other Negro organizations. But yesterday, under Left progressive leadership, an outstanding union in the struggle for the equal rights of Negro workers, the National Maritime Union, now under the Curran clique, has become a bitter opponent of the Negro workers. Negro seamen are being barred as a result of Curran's connivance with the shipowners, from skilled and other jobs won during the war. In Southern ports, Curran officials, working together with the brutal police departments, are brow-beating Negro seamen and

(Exhibit WJ-14c)

becoming technically, workers only. The struggle against reformism and Social-Democracy and against the white-chauvinist policies and practices brought into the organization by white Social-Democrats and Trotskyites (who constitute the bulk of the white forces in the Association) is thus abandoned."

In other words, what he is giving them is the policy that the main obstacles, which keep them from taking over complete control, are the Social-Democrats and Trotskyites who are in the driver's seat, and that they are attacking the Communists and fighting them to keep them from taking away their power and control. So, in the light of that, you can understand why these recriminations and why these attacks between the Communists and the Trotskyites and the Social-Democrats.

The Communists have issued pronouncements against them — but, that is a family fight between the Trotskyites, the Social-Democrats and the Communists — just like the father, the son and the daughter. "We all have our quarrels but we belong to the same family." They all

belong to the Marxism family, and they can come together at any time during certain historic situations. It has been in the past, and it can be again in the future.

Continuing, page 32, "Progressives" — Progressives mean Communists — **"must recognize the important role of the organization as a key force in the struggle for a united Negro people's movement. They should work for a policy of uniting the rank and file of the Association with sections of the leadership . . ."**

In other words, they admit that they have people in the top leadship that their rank and file movement can work with, yet these forces in the top are not getting strong enough to take over control. But a coalition of the Communist forces below and their people in the top can put a sufficient pressure on the rest of the leaders to force them to go along with a more radical policy or abdicate their position. If they can force them to abdicate or put them on the defensive and force them to yield to pressure, they will have solved the problem, because the radical or Communist policy will be the policy of the N.A.A.C.P. After all, that is all the Communists want, because it is only in the pursuance of a radical policy that the Communists feel that the masses can be educated and prepared for revolution.

Continuing, **"This united front should be extended and developed into a conscious part of the progressive movement, recognizing its role as part of the progressive trend generally. Inevitably, such a movement would expose the Social-Democratic and reformist misleadership. The Negro people must come to see clearly the basic difference between Social-Democratic and reformist policies on the one hand and a clear-cut anti-imperialist policy on the other."**

"Anti-imperialist" is the Aesopian term for Communist policy.

MR. SHAW: I would like to offer that, Mr. Chairman, as WJ-15.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-15 be made a part of the record. (See Pages 187, 188)

A. Since we are on this question of infiltration, I would like to read just a few paragraphs from the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party. This is by Abner W. Berry. He is a member of the Daily Worker staff and a member of the Negro Commission, National Committee of the Communist Party. He is a Negro Communist from Texas.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. What is the date of that paper?

A. The date on this is Monday, June 26, 1950. This is an article on the 41st Annual Convention of the N.A.A.C.P., and they mention in this article the names of some of the people at the convention of the N.A.A.C.P. Among them are such persons as Mrs. Maude White Katz, delegate from New York, and a member of the Conference Rules Committee. Now, Maude White Katz is a Negro woman Communist, has been a member of the Communist Party since 'way back in the '20s. She was for years a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. When I was a member of the Negro Commission of the Party, she was considered one of the outstanding Negro women author-

against police murders and brutality, against judicial frame-ups of Negroes, etc., at the same time that the struggle for Federal, state and local civil rights legislation and for the enforcement of present legislation is advanced on a national scale. Tied in with this is the struggle against evictions and flagrant housing-law violations, for more adequate relief appropriations, etc.; the N.A.A.C.P. cannot stand aside from these struggles, but must involve the whole membership in activities on these issues—both on its own initiative, and in cooperation with other organizations working in these fields.

Politically, therefore, the orientation of the Left and progressive forces in the N.A.A.C.P. is that the Negro people cannot rely on the Truman Administration or on the bipartisans for satisfaction of their demands. Only the path of mass struggle, in close cooperation with all democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist sections of the American people can secure victory in the fight for the political, economic and social equality of the Negro people.

The dominant sections of the N.A.A.C.P. leadership in the national office, on the national board, and in a majority of the branches, however, do not accept this trend. This leadership sees its future as being inseparable from the fate of the imperialists. Its policy is one of reformism, of tying the Negro people's struggle to the Truman Administration, to the two-party system, to a policy of pseudo-liberalism. Maintaining close ties with the reformist and Social-Democratic top bureaucratic leaders of the labor movement, particularly of the C.I.O.—whose collaboration with Big Business and the Truman Administration has led to abandonment of struggle for higher wages and improved conditions for all workers, especially the Negro workers—the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. persist in ignoring the urgent economic and political problems of the N.A.A.C.P. membership and of the Negro people as a whole. Support of the Truman Administration's reactionary, warmaking foreign policy advanced under the slogan of "containing Communism" inevitably means avoiding taking any measures that would "embarrass" the Administration in its demagogic posturing.

The social roots of the present Roy Wilkins (acting National Secretary of the Association), Gloster Current (Director of Branches) and Walter White leadership are to be found in the Negro petty bourgeoisie.

Since the birth of the N.A.A.C.P. forty years ago, there has been an important growth in such entire Negro-owned business institutions as insurance companies (Atlanta Life, North Carolina Mutual), weekly and monthly publications (*The Pittsburgh Courier, Afro-American, Ebony, Our World*), and undertaking establishments (the Smith and Gaston organizations, working from Birmingham into all parts of Alabama).

(Exhibit WJ-15a)

SOME INCORRECT TENDENCIES

This article has gone into some detail on the background of the N.A.A.C.P., the political orientation of its leadership, its policy and program, because understanding of these facts is essential in determining the tasks that face the Left-progressive forces within that body.

During the last few years, the Left and progressive forces in the Association have at times exhibited a number of incorrect tendencies in their work which, if persisted in, would impede their efforts to build the organization into a powerful force in the Negro liberation movement.

Some of the Left and progressive forces have occasionally fallen into sectarian "tendencies," maintaining that it is "impossible" for them to bring about any changes in the Association due to the domination of the reformist and Social-Democratic leadership. They insist that the organization is purely reformist in character and that nothing important can be achieved by remaining in it; and they claim that the decline in membership during the last two years is proof that the Association has never basically won the allegiance of the Negro people. This attitude has at times been expressed in a withdrawal from active participation in the life and work of the organization and in a search for other channels through which to develop militant action.

It is clear that underlying this sectarian tendency is a serious underestimation of the central role played by the Association in Negro life. Such an approach misses the whole point that by withdrawing from active participation in the work of the organization and by leaving its struggle for national civil rights legislation to the present reformist and Social-Democratic leadership, the Left forces would merely strengthen the control and domination of this leadership and serve to isolate the Left-progressives from broad sections of Negro life. This sectarian approach confuses the reformist and Social-Democratic leadership with the membership; it fails to see the currents that are developing among the Negro people as a whole and among the membership itself, as well as the growing difficulties facing the present leadership as a result of the betrayal of election promises by the Truman Administration; and it does not recognize the fact that the Negro people have not accepted and will not accept the line of capitulation advanced by Wilkins and White. These facts are illustrated, not only by the events at the 40th convention, but by the subsequent refusal of many sections of the organization to accept the Wilkins edict excluding Left-progressive unions from the civil rights mobilization.

Another incorrect tendency exhibited by many Left and progressive forces in the Association is that

(Exhibit WJ-15b)



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of accepting fully and without question the interpretation given to N.A.A.C.P. policy by Right-wing elements and by certain national staff members. The assumption here is that, because the Negro people are an oppressed people, there is *only one* current developing among them, and that this current is necessarily progressive. The reformist, Social-Democratic, Right current flowing from the Negro petty bourgeoisie is overlooked. Consequently, the need for a policy that seeks to unite the vast majority of the Negro people in struggle against the line of reformism and capitulation to American imperialism is obscured.

The progressive forces in the Association that fall into this tendency work without a correct understanding of united front policy, fail to ally themselves with the advancing currents in the broad membership of the organization that are seeking a line of struggle, and consequently end up by becoming technical workers only. The struggle against reformism and Social-Democracy and against the white-chauvinist policies and practices brought into the organization by white Social-Democrats and Trotskyites (who constitute the bulk of the white forces in the Association) is thus abandoned.

The emergence of these tendencies on the part of certain forces in the Left trend within the Association is further stimulated by the failure of the progressive movement generally to participate sufficiently in the activities undertaken by the N.A.A.C.P. In some instances, as a result of the influence of white chauvinism, Left and progressive forces regard the Association as "unimportant" because it is mainly a Negro body and therefore "not worth" the attention paid to the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., or other national organizations. The effect of these attitudes is to facilitate the infiltration of Social-Democrats and Trotskyites into the Negro people's movement and the betrayal of the struggle for Negro rights by these elements.

Progressives must recognize the important role of the organization as a key force in the struggle for a united Negro people's movement. They should work for a policy of uniting the rank and file of the Association with sections of the leadership, wherever possible, in fighting for a militant program to advance the movement of the Negro people against their national oppressors—Wall Street and the proponents of the Truman-bipartisan doctrines.

This united front should be extended and developed into a conscious part of the progressive movement, recognizing its role as part of the progressive trend generally. Inevitably, such a movement would expose the Social-Democratic and reformist misleadership. The Negro people must come to see clearly the basic difference between Social-Democratic and reformist policies on the one hand and a clear-cut anti-imperialist policy on the other.

(Exhibit WJ-15c)

ities on Communism in this country. She married a Jewish fellow by the name of Katz. That's the reason why her name is today Mrs. Maude White Katz. She is a member of the N.A.A.C.P., and is a member of its Conference Rules Committee. I am not saying this. I am quoting from the Daily Worker.

Then, Edward Strong, one of the top Negro Communists. He is the guy who formed the Southern Youth Congress, was a member of the Negro Commission, and a big wheel in the Young Communist League. He spoke from the floor, and according to the Daily Worker, Edward Strong, of Philadelphia, asked the delegates to "take a good look at me, I'm a Communist." Then Dr. James E. Jackson, Ann Arbor, Michigan, got up to defend the Communist Party. So you see a few of these examples that the Communists are in the N.A.A.C.P. and are fighting like all dickens to stay in the N.A.A.C.P. and to capture control of it.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-16 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-16 be made a

part of the record of this Committee. **(Exhibit WJ-16 omitted. Available in office of Committee.)**

A. Mr. Chairman, I have five more exhibits and I will summarize the contents of them. I have already marked certain pertinent passages, and I think if you read them over you can take those excerpts and incorporate them in the record. They deal with the joint United Fund Activities and the N.A.A.C.P. in the Communist Party. I mean the composition of the N.A.A.C.P., and how the N.A.A.C.P. fights against the whole security program. This is very important to know, because they have passed resolutions condemning the whole security program. I think that this should be brought to the attention of the committee, and I would like to at this time just hand you these, and you may introduce them and study them at your leisure.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer these exhibits and ask that they be marked WJ-17, WJ-18, WJ-19, WJ-20, and WJ-21 for identification. Each of these exhibits is self-explanatory.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibits WJ-17 through WJ-21 be made a part of the record of this committee. **(Exhibits WJ-17 through WJ-21 omitted. Available in office of Committee.)**

A However, I want to quote just a couple of paragraphs from this exhibit. This is the report on the 46th Annual Convention of the N.A.A.C.P. by Doxey A. Wilkerson, a member of the Communist Party and a former professor at Howard University. Doxey Wilkerson writes as follows on page 12, **Political Affairs**, August, 1955:

> **"There are several notably progressive policy statements in the civil liberties field."**
>
> He is speaking of the N.A.A.C.P. convention. **"The resolution on Academic Freedom, for example, opposes 'any and all efforts to suppress freedom of thought and objective learning,' and particularly condemns the 'discharge of teachers on the basis of charges by "nameless informers." ' "**

Now, I would like at this time to quote what J. Edgar Hoover says about this. In the **New York Daily News** dated February 18, 1957, there is an editorial, "In and Out of the Communist Party with the FBI," and the sense of the article is that it is essential for the FBI to maintain its operatives within the Communist conspiracy and that,

> **"When and if the Party goes underground, we will go underground with them,"** Mr. Hoover says, **"and continue to keep tabs on everything the rats do or plan to do."**

Now, the Communists have insisted that these operatives who give information to the Government about persons who are Communists should be compelled to face these persons. Well, if they were compelled to face them, then the Communists would know who they are and the whole undercover apparatus of the FBI would be completely wrecked. You can see the logic of that. It is not easy to get them into various key spots in the Communist apparatus, and to bring them out and expose them in hearings of that kind would play havoc with the instrument of security, set up by the FBI. The Communists want this wrecked. So does

the N.A.A.C.P., and I think we ought to introduce this into the record in reply to the N.A.A.C.P. on this score, to show that when it comes to security the N.A.A.C.P. stands solidly with the Communists.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence this exhibit from the **Daily News** and ask that it be marked WJ-22 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that WJ-22 be made a part of the record. **(Exhibit WJ-22 omitted. Available in office of Committee.)**

A. Continuing from Doxey Wilkerson's article in **Political Affairs** on the N.A.A.C.P. Convention, page 12:

> **"The resolution on the Federal Security-Loyalty Program demands 'that all persons accused of being a security risk shall have the right to know the nature of the charges against them, the sources of the charges and the right to be confronted by the accuser and to cross-examine the witness,' etc.**
>
> **"The resolution on Congressional Investigations asserts that 'many innocent persons have been charged with treasonable or subversive conduct and given no opportunity to know the evidence against them or to defend themselves or their reputation with the consequent loss of their employment,' and calls 'on the Congress and the legislatures of the several states to enact rules of fair play'."**

And they also called for a revision of the McCarran-Walter Anti-Immigration Act.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. At that point I would like for you to explain, if you can, just why the Communists and fellow travelers are so opposed to the McCarran-Walter Anti-Immigration Act.

A. They oppose it because the act itself hampers the admission of Communists into the United States. See, you have thousands of Communists among the refugees and others in Europe — displaced persons. Many of them are highly skilled operatives. Many of them are wanted by the police in various countries in Europe because of their Communist activities. Some of them are assasins, murderers, and what-not, and many of them are espionage agents of the highest rank and order. They would like to get into this country and operate here. The McCarran-Walter Act was successful in plugging some of the loopholes that existed for years in our immigration laws. The Communists are interested in doing away with this act entirely and taking immigration out of the Justice Department and putting it under a private agency which can be infiltrated and controlled by them, and setting up or re-coding the immigration laws so that they will speed up and facilitate immigration on the part of their people.

Q. I believe you stated earlier in your testimony that you have been employed by the Immigration Section of the Justice Department. Is that right?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you speaking now from your knowledge as a person employed in

that field?

A. Yes, sir, and I have known of quite a few who have come in, and the government is having a very difficult time getting rid of them now. You will notice that the persons who were recently convicted of espionage were some of those who came in in recent years.

I want to read another excerpt from the Wilkerson article, page 13, **Political Affairs**, and I shall conclude. It says:

> **"Also, shortly before the Convention, Federal Judge William H. Hastie, a member of the N.A.A.C.P.'s National Board of Directors, wrote an historic dissenting opinion which exposes the fraud inherent in the imprisonment of Communists for alleged violation of the Smith Act."**

I want to say here that Judge William Hastie is a Negro. He was the first Negro appointed to a federal bench, and the most important act that he did as a Federal Judge was to hand down this dissenting opinion in the Smith Act case involving Steve Nelson and Caruthers and others in the state of Pennsylvania. In his ruling, he went even far beyond the Douglas and Black' — Justices Douglas and Black — dissent in the original Smith Act case. This is not believed accidental, because Judge Hastie has a record of association with the Communists, and I am sure that was a product of the period of the New Deal when you didn't have to have too much ability. All you had to have was certain connections, and if you knew the right people and worked with the right people, you could get promoted.

What I can never understand is why we have to always have, as representatives of our race, people who have associations with Communists, and who, when they get in places of importance, do the work of the Communists. We have a lot of good Negro Americans, who have good, clean, backgrounds, and records who never get promoted, but these pink-o's and Communists and fellow travelers — they seem to have the right connections and they get into the right spots, and Hastie is one of them. I just want to read something that the Communists say about Hastie's decision, just briefly.

MR. SHAW: Before you do that, I would like to offer in evidence this last exhibit and ask that it be marked WJ-23 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-23 be made part of the record. (See Pages 192, 193, 194)

A. I will just read this last paragraph. This article in the **Daily Worker**, June 23, 1955, by Alan Max, "Judge Hastie Finds No Such Proof," goes on to explain the wonderful benefits this decision is to the Communists, and concludes by saying:

> **"Let us see, then, where we stand. We have the historic dissents of Justices Black and Douglas in which they maintain that the Smith Act was a violation of the First Amendment. To these can now be added the historic Hastie-Maris dissent which makes clear that even if the Smith Act is constitutional, it has been illegally applied to the members of the Communist Party.**
>
> **"Thus, supporters of the Bill of Rights now have a powerful new instrument in their fight."**

This is what the Communists say for Judge Hastie's decision, and

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political affairs

A Theoretical Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: V. J. Jerome

The 46th Annual Convention of the NAACP

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

THE RECENT 46TH ANNUAL CONVENTION of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demonstrated, once again, that this organization constitutes the vital center of the Negro people's movement today. Its democratic program for Negro rights and on other social and economic questions is probably more advanced than that of any other mass organization in which the Left plays so modest a role. Its policy of independent political action coincides with the requirements for breaking through the G.O.P.-Dixiecrat road-block to progressive foreign and domestic policy. Its serious quest for allies, especially in the labor movement, will help to consolidate the democratic people's coalition for 1956. And its militant, fighting spirit reflects the mood of its quarter-million members and the Negro people as a whole.

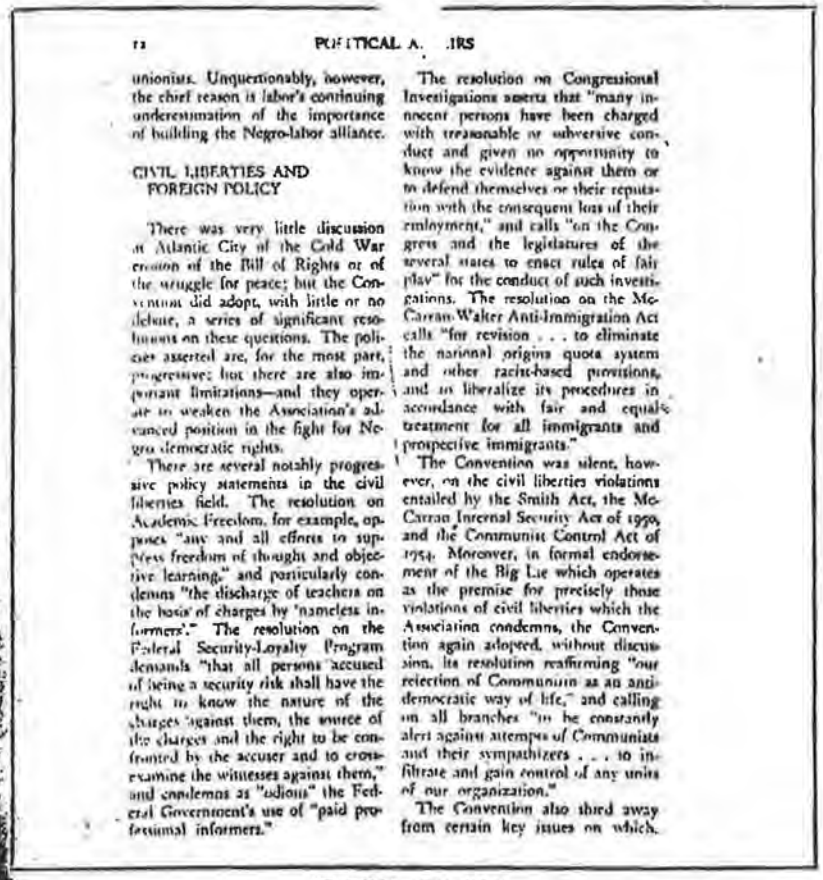
ATTENDANCE AND ORGANIZATION

Approximately 800 people attended the N.A.A.C.P. Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 21 to 26. On the fourth day the Credentials Committee reported 479 voting delegates and 286 alternates, observers and fraternal delegates; others arrived toward the end of the week.

There were 138 voting delegates and 136 others from the Middle Atlantic and New England states; the Mid-Western Regions sent 134 representatives; the Far West Region sent 52; and the Southern Regions sent 295, or 39% of the total. Approximately one-half of the 235 community branches, youth councils and college chapters represented at the Convention are located in Southern regions.

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(Exhibit WJ-23a)



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unionists. Unquestionably, however, the chief reason is labor's continuing underestimation of the importance of building the Negro-labor alliance.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND FOREIGN POLICY

There was very little discussion at Atlantic City of the Cold War erosion of the Bill of Rights or of the struggle for peace; but the Convention did adopt, with little or no debate, a series of significant resolutions on these questions. The policies asserted are, for the most part, progressive; but there are also important limitations—and they operate to weaken the Association's advanced position in the fight for Negro democratic rights.

There are several notably progressive policy statements in the civil liberties field. The resolution on Academic Freedom, for example, opposes "any and all efforts to suppress freedom of thought and objective learning," and particularly condemns "the discharge of teachers on the basis of charges by 'nameless informers'." The resolution on the Federal Security-Loyalty Program demands "that all persons accused of being a security risk shall have the right to know the nature of the charges against them, the source of the charges and the right to be confronted by the accuser and to cross-examine the witnesses against them," and condemns as "odious" the Federal Government's use of "paid professional informers."

The resolution on Congressional Investigations asserts that "many innocent persons have been charged with treasonable or subversive conduct and given no opportunity to know the evidence against them or to defend themselves or their reputation with the consequent loss of their employment," and calls "on the Congress and the legislatures of the several states to enact rules of fair play" for the conduct of such investigations. The resolution on the McCarran-Walter Anti-Immigration Act calls "for revision . . . to eliminate the national origins quota system and other racist-based provisions, and to liberalize its procedures in accordance with fair and equal treatment for all immigrants and prospective immigrants."

The Convention was silent, however, on the civil liberties violations entailed by the Smith Act, the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954. Moreover, in formal endorsement of the Big Lie which operates as the premise for precisely those violations of civil liberties which the Association condemns, the Convention again adopted, without discussion, its resolution reaffirming "our rejection of Communism as an anti-democratic way of life," and calling on all branches "to be constantly alert against attempts of Communists and their sympathizers . . . to infiltrate and gain control of any units of our organization."

The Convention also shied away from certain key issues on which

(Exhibit WJ-23b)

that Hastie is a member of the National Board of the N.A.A.C.P. I seriously question his motives. Of course now, when there was a vacancy on the United States Supreme Court, the Communists and the eggheads and the liberals and the fellow travelers began to scream (Daily Worker, Oct. 24, 1954) for Hastie's appointment to the High Court. Will we get another pro-Communist element on the Bench?

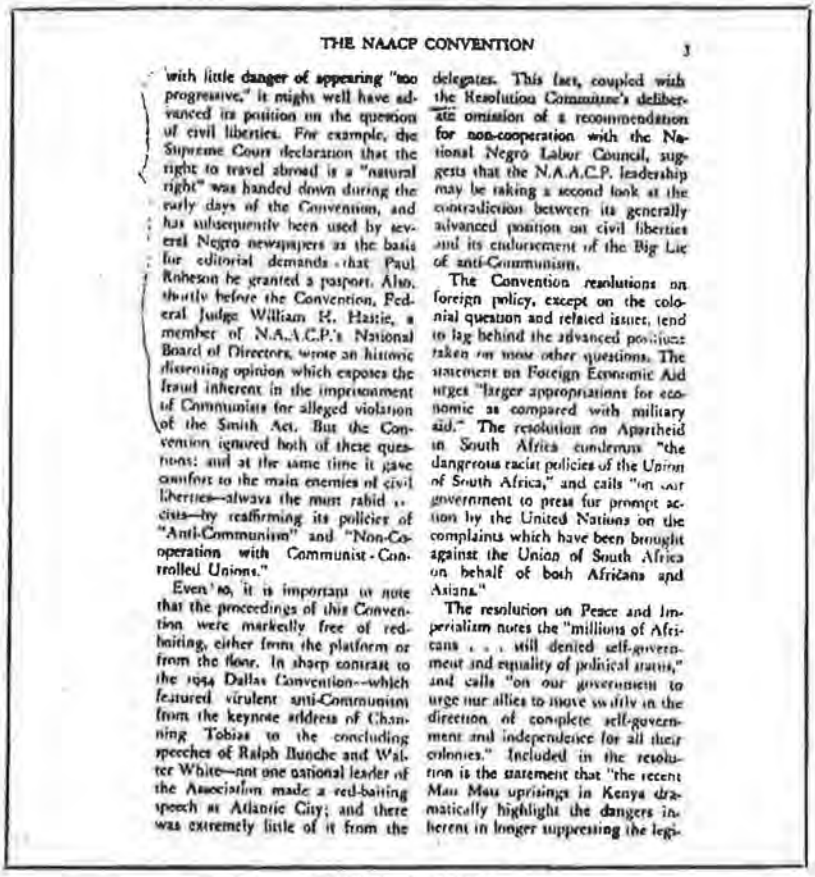
MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer these exhibits in evidence and ask that they be marked WJ-24 and WJ-25 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibits WJ-24 and WJ-25 be made a part of the record. (See Page 195 for Exhibit WJ-24 and Page 196 for Exhibit WJ-25)

A. The Communists thought so much of Hastie's dissenting opinion that they ran it in a series for days in the Daily Worker.

Now, I want to deal with another guy here who is a member of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., the former Judge, Hubert T. Delaney. There is a guy who is an officer in the National Lawyers' Guild, an

N.Y.



THE NAACP CONVENTION

with little danger of appearing "too progressive," it might well have advanced its position on the question of civil liberties. For example, the Supreme Court declaration that the right to travel abroad is a "natural right" was handed down during the early days of the Convention, and has subsequently been used by several Negro newspapers as the basis for editorial demands that Paul Robeson be granted a passport. Also, shortly before the Convention, Federal Judge William H. Hastie, a member of N.A.A.C.P.'s National Board of Directors, wrote an historic dissenting opinion which exposes the fraud inherent in the imprisonment of Communists for alleged violation of the Smith Act. But the Convention ignored both of these questions; and at the same time it gave comfort to the main enemies of civil liberties—always the most rabid racists—by reaffirming its policies of "Anti-Communism" and "Non-Cooperation with Communist-Controlled Unions."

Even so, it is important to note that the proceedings of this Convention were markedly free of red-baiting, either from the platform or from the floor. In sharp contrast to the 1954 Dallas Convention—which featured virulent anti-Communism from the keynote address of Channing Tobias to the concluding speeches of Ralph Bunche and Walter White—not one national leader of the Association made a red-baiting speech at Atlantic City; and there was extremely little of it from the delegates. This fact, coupled with the Resolution Committee's deliberate omission of a recommendation for non-cooperation with the National Negro Labor Council, suggests that the N.A.A.C.P. leadership may be taking a second look at the contradiction between its generally advanced position on civil liberties and its endorsement of the Big Lie of anti-Communism.

The Convention resolutions on foreign policy, except on the colonial question and related issues, tend to lag behind the advanced positions taken on many other questions. The statement on Foreign Economic Aid urges "larger appropriations for economic as compared with military aid." The resolution on Apartheid in South Africa condemns "the dangerous racist policies of the Union of South Africa," and calls "on our government to press for prompt action by the United Nations on the complaints which have been brought against the Union of South Africa on behalf of both Africans and Asians."

The resolution on Peace and Imperialism notes the "millions of Africans . . . still denied self-government and equality of political status," and calls "on our government to urge our allies to move swiftly in the direction of complete self-government and independence for all their colonies." Included in the resolution is the statement that "the recent Mau Mau uprisings in Kenya dramatically highlight the dangers inherent in longer suppressing the legi-

(Exhibit WJ-23c)

organization that has been exposed as a Communist front, and he has declared that he is going down the line with it. He has been in numerous Communist activities. He is a darling of theirs. He does their bidding whenever it is necessary. He is a member of the N.A.A.C.P. Board, and the Mayor of the City of New York recently refused to reappoint him as Judge of the Municipal Court. The N.A.A.C.P. went all out to force the mayor to rescind his decision, and the Communists also beat the drums because they had lost another judge.

But Delaney is definitely working hand in glove with the Communists. He is one of their tools as the records here will show. I won't read these quotations, but I think that you may, at your leisure, put the Delaney record into the record. I would like to point out a quotation from the Daily Worker, dated Tuesday, February 24, 1953.

"Judge Hubert T. Delaney of the Municipal Court told the National Lawyers' Guild Saturday that the death penalty in the Rosenberg case is cruel and unusual punishment."

He was against the conviction and the sentence against the Rosen-

(Exhibit WJ-24)

enforcement of the 5th of Rights and the Constitution.

Langer, who spoke at the conclusion of the conference, must have shocked the Pennsylvania McCarthyites in both the old parties by his outright praise of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which sponsored the gath-

More Self-Raises

WASHINGTON, June 21.—The House voted yesterday to give government officials a hefty travel allowance. The bill went to the Senate, would raise the per diem for Federal officials from $9 to $13 per day, for special cases the sub could hit $25.

Rep. Noah M. Mason (R-Ill.) said the war nothing left than an invitation for having thieves exist to look for fancy hotel rooms.

"They are," said the Senator, "the best type of true, red-blooded Americans, who want to preserve democracy in the U.S. In my opinion," he added, "the work of the organization is meeting with good success."

FOLLOWING LANGER'S address the conference voted unanimously to establish a Philadelphia branch of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, to give support to the investigatory work of the Senate subcommittee, and asked the delegates to carry back to their organizations full reports on the proceedings of the conference.

A resolution also passed unanimously called on President Eisenhower and the members of Congress to support the Senate subcommittee's activities and the campaign for the enforcement throughout the nation of constitutional rights for all. Those attending were asked to help in securing $15,000 more in bail required to release Carl Braden from jail.

Expect Soviet Farmers In Chicago Aug. 5-7

CHICAGO.—When a group of Soviet farmers come to Chicago this August, they will be shown around the city by a committee of leading Chicagoans, it was announced this week.

The group will be here Aug. 5-7, about the same time that a delegation of American farmers will be visiting the Soviet Union. The exchange is coming about as a result of an editorial in the Des Moines Register which said that such mutual visiting would help relations between the two countries.

While the Soviet group will mainly be visiting the farm areas, the Chicago reception committee was planning an itinerary which would include a tour of the Museum of Science and Industry, an afternoon at Wrigley Field to watch the Cubs and the Brooklyn Dodgers, a visit to the University of Chicago.

A leading Chicago farm expert was reportedly working on plans for the group to visit farms in Illinois and Iowa.

The Soviet farmers are reportedly interested in discussing corn-hog farming methods. At the same time, the visitors are expected to find much common ground with Midwest farmers who are traditionally strong advocates of peace.

Judge Hastie Finds 'No Such Proof'

By ALAN MAX

BEGINNING with next Monday's issue of the DW, you will be able to read the complete text of Judge William Hastie's dissent to the Smith Act trial of Steve Nelson and the other Pittsburgh Communists. Meanwhile let us give you an early foretaste of the opinion.

When the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review the original Dennis case, it refused to review the conduct of the trial itself, and only considered the issue of the constitutionality of the Smith Act. The court voted 6-2 that the act was constitutional, with Justices Black and Douglas (their powerful dissents heralding the law to get). The late Chief Justice Fred Vinson wrote the majority decision, which is the WHO at the case also included an unsettling language of a "How to kill him" character. Incidentally, of that 6-2 majority, two justices—Frankfurter and the late Robert Jackson—wrote separate learned opinions in which they said that the law was good but indicated that Congress never should have passed it.

The Vinson decision promised that future "hands-off" cases (wherever that might mean) would be given study by the Court. But the promise in practice was not kept, either in the Maryland case of the Dyes case, the only subsequent Smith Act cases yet to reach the high court.

In the Hastie-Marie dissent here the opinion by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals that the Negro jurist was joined in his dissent by Judge Albert B. Maris) we have for the first time a reasoned examination of a trial under the Smith Act as applied to Communists.

THE ISSUE at legality of the law was not before the Circuit Court, that having been "decided" by the Supreme Court in the Dennis case. Hastie therefore starts with the Vinson decision and proceeds from there.

He does rather than that a "real importance" of the Smith Act would be that a jurist not possibly be upheld with the First Amendment. He then notes that in square the law with the First Amendment and with the "clear and present danger" doctrine, the Supreme Court set certain very "narrow limits to its application. These limits were that government by conspiracy to advocate, etc., was possible only if, in the words of Chief Justice Vinson, advocacy was "directed to some action" "as speedily as circumstances would permit."

With this as the guide then, Judge Hastie reviews the entire Nelson case and finds that there was "no such proof as would warrant submission of the case to the jury." Therefore, he says, the trial judge should have dismissed the case and never let it go to the jury.

Turning to the majority decision, Judge Hastie says, "it is noteworthy that the court's analysis of the evidence points to nothing which indicates that the Communist teaching, actual or projected, since 1945 has been calculated to incite people to violent attempts against our government as soon as feasible or within any period of time, however definite." But that, he claims, is exactly what must be proved to satisfy the conditions laid down by the Vinson decision. (Actually, the Communists not only don't advocate force and violence as soon as feasible, they don't even advocate it for the indefinite future. While this is the most important point in the whole matter it is not directly at issue here.)

AS FOR "overt" acts, the Hastie-Maris dissent points out that these consisted solely of attendance at ordinary Communist Party meetings and presented absolutely no evidence of "conspiracy to advocate."

Now, everything that Judge Hastie and Maris set of the Nelson case applies with equal force to every other Smith Act trial of Communists, including the Dennis trial which the Supreme Court never examined.

Let us see, then, where we stand. We have the historic dissents of Justices Black and Douglas in which they maintained that the Smith Act was a violation of the First Amendment. To these can now be added the Hastie-Maris dissent which makes clear that even if the Smith Act is constitutional, it has been illegally applied to members of the Communist Party.

Thus, supporters of the Bill of Rights now have a powerful new instrument in their fight.

D.W June 24, 1954 WJ-25

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Eisenhower Being Urged to Name Judge Hastie to High Court Post

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER is being urged to replace the late Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson with a Negro appointee to the United States Supreme Court. If the requests are heeded, it will mark the first departure from the White pattern of appointment to the highest court in the land.



JUDGE HASTIE

Judge William Hastie named to the Third U. S. Circuit Court in Philadelphia in 1949 by President Truman, now holds the highest federal post to which a Negro has been named and the appointment has aroused surprise.

The appointment of Hastie to the Supreme Court was proposed last week by President Eisenhower in Judge William Denman of the Ninth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

JUDGE DENMAN'S action in the President cited Hastie background as a former governor of the Negro Islands, not as the successor to Chief Justice Warren was former Governor of California. Judge Denman also told of his own knowledge of Hastie's ability as a scholar when they worked together on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The suggestion Judge Denman advanced was not "for the political effect on the Negro vote of the northern states," continuing.

"But to us there that, given the same college and professional education as that of Judge Hastie and Ralph Bunche, awarded a Nobel prize, the colored race produced men of the same distinction as other races."

IN MICHIGAN, William Oliver, co-director with Walter Reuther of the CIO Auto Workers Union, Chief of a Negro judge, PEPC committee said it would be a wonderful thing if President Eisenhower might appoint Hastie to the vacancy left by Justice Jackson. Oliver said that Hastie was "highly qualified" for the post.

REV. CHARLES A. HILL, executive director of the Detroit Council for Human Rights, commented that if Eisenhower appointed a Negro judge to the Supreme Court, it would support the position of minorities and civil rights.

THE ADELIZZI GROUP, [illegible] announcement that [illegible] the striking locals.

What remained, after all, was the matter raised by the workers about all those months and the results that set the wage pattern in the 1953 wage round. This is not only displeasing to the employers, but to some labor leaders, too, who like David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union have been urging parity for other not-so-prosperous of the past 10 years.

The effect of the 1953 strike [illegible] STANDARD STORE.

Force Will Not Work in Asia, Nehru Tells U.S

The U.S. is viewed with [illegible] Asia today because of [illegible] association with French colonialism in Indochina and with [illegible] credited and unpopular leaders such as Chiang Kai-shek, Premier Nehru and Premier Mohammed Ali of Pakistan, Prime Minister Nehru told in an interview published in the current issue of Look Magazine.

Nehru told Look's reporter Sam Attwood, that the greatest mistake the western powers made in Asia "was underestimating Asia's nationalistic aspirations," and the French would have retained a more advantageous peace settlement in Indochina two years ago than they finally accepted this year. "But they could not fight a forgotten, unpopular colonial war with the aid of American money and equipment," he said.

Nehru said that the most important tension in Asia today is "creating a climate of opinion favorable to aggression by Communist China." This is what [illegible] Nehru said. "But it is not by sending armies that Communism can be defeated. It can be defeated only by the force of ideas and good will."

(Exhibit WJ-25)

bergs, the spys.

MR. SHAW:

Q. Judge Delaney is a Negro, isn't he?

A. Yes, sir, he is.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer these exhibits in evidence and ask that they be marked WJ-25A, WJ-26, WJ-27, WJ-28, WJ-29, and WJ-30, respectively.

A. I don't know whether you want these articles on Judge Hastie's dissent for your records to study or not. If you do, you may—

MR. SHAW: If it please the Chair, I should like to ask that the record be left open for their inclusion at a later date if we so desire.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibits WJ-25A through WJ-30 be made a part of the record and that the articles on Judge Hastie's dissent in the Smith case be held open for inclusion in the record if examination discloses that they are pertinent to the record. **(Exhibits WJ-25A, WJ-26, WJ-28 omitted. Available in office of Committee.)** **(See Page 198 for Exhibit WJ-27, Page 199 for Exhibit WJ-29 and Page 200 for Exhibit WJ-30)**

A. At the recent convention of the Communist Party in New York they decided on their policy in relation to the N.A.A.C.P., and Abner W. Berry in his column in the **Daily Worker**, dated February 19, 1957, page 6, has an article explaining the Communist Party policy. According to the article a Party Convention resolution was adopted on the question of Communist cooperation and work with the N.A.A.C.P. Of course, Roy Wilkins, who is now National Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., came out quickly to say that he wasn't for any support from the Communists, and Abney W. Berry in this article proceeds to answer him.

Now, I wish to just read briefly what he has to say in this relation, because this is a current policy.

"There was implied in the resolution that there would be no separate organizations set up by the Communists through which they would seek to steer the Negro people's movement, but rather that they would support those organizations, such as the N.A.A.C.P., and similar groups in the South, which were in the field."

In other words, what he is saying here is that the resolution said that the Communists were not going to set up any organization in opposition to the N.A.A.C.P. or other organization. They are going to work through the existing organizations to accomplish their objective.

"Communists in labor unions are thus pledged to get their unions to support the N.A.A.C.P., to better express the alliance of labor with the Negro people. Communists in communities are pledged to aid in increasing the membership and financial strength of the N.A.A.C.P., whether as members or not. In a word, if Communists follow the resolution, they will, in the words of the woman delegate, do 'what the Negro people want,' and fight for what they want."

"This is stated explicitly in a section of the resolution which reads:

" 'It is not the task of the Communists or any other group to impose upon the Negro people new forms of struggle, tactics alien to their historic development as a people. Rather, it is



D.W. Wednesday May 27, 1953 Page 8 JVJ-27

...vote to Fight ...ltown Ban Negro Family

...Hugh Bryson

Ask Dismissal Of T-H Charge Against Bryson

...Guild Rejects N.Y. Lawyers' Officers

...30-Day Retiring Notice Rule For Cops Upheld

What's On?

...Will Peace Bring a Depression?

...peace, Jobs—Can We Have Both?

(Exhibit WJ-27)

(Exhibit WJ-29)

...ers' wages were recommended by a fact-finding board.

...publicity bulletin. We are speaking PIER 9, BROOKLYN

of THOUSANDS of just ordinary dock workers.

When Governors Harriman and Dewey reject the pleas of the longshoremen for an impartial hearing and tell them that they have not played their grievances

The longshoremen signed of Local 1814, covering Pier 9, Brooklyn, give an example. That pier was closed down for several months. Some 200 to 400 permanently employed dockers so that pier held on to their jobs in the hope the

them. One longshoreman told of a man 58 years in the trade who received such notice.

True, only some 7,000 of these were eventually received from the registration rolls, but one can only imagine the terror the commission's letters brought to the families of

crime or criminals. The knock on the door by a "Waterfront Commission

Daily Worker

New York, Wednesday, September 14, 1955

NACCP Urges Mayor Rename Judge Delaney

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People yesterday called on Mayor Wagner to reappoint Hubert T. Delany as Justice of the Domestic Relations Court. Delany's term expired August 31 and despite vigorous demands by labor, civic,

Asks Hearing on Dock Beefs

(Continued from Page 1)

ping Association, Attorneys John J. Sullivan and William Macko attacked the Waterfront Commission and the law under which it was set up as a "conspiracy to destroy" the ILA.

ILA attorneys told the court the strike was a legitimate labor dispute and an injunction could therefore not be placed against the strike.

They argued that after the ILA and the New York Shipping Association signed a contract providing that rates now in the port gangs were fixed through the union, the commission "illegally" passed a "new ruling" that all men must be hired through commission centers, which the men have denounced as "hiring stables."

The Shipping Association has refused the ILA demand to renegotiate the entire contract because of the new ruling, the ILA charged.

Judge Edgar J. Nathan, Jr., ordered ILA president William V. Bradley and other ILA officers to appear in Supreme Court at 10 a.m. today to show cause why they should not be punished for

Throughout the day five special investigators for the Waterfront Commission stood in front of ILA headquarters serving injunction papers on ILA officers and members.

A commission investigator entered the ILA offices and served Capt. Bradley with some papers.

Longshoremen immediately identified him as the gumshoe man who touched off the strike last Wednesday when he refused to leave an ILA meeting at Pier 36, in Manhattan.

"There's the gestapo man," a docker shouted as the commission investigator entered Bradley's office. Dockers identified him as the "mysterious Mr. Lynch."

Lynch walked out and was confronted by newsmen.

He was asked, "What is your first name?"

"No comment," the gumshoe replied.

"What is the purpose of your visit?" he was asked.

"Capt. Bradley will tell you," he said as he strode from the office.

"He's the bum who has been

Locals of District 4 Pledge

...ough President Hulan Jack, has been the chief obstacle to Delany's second term. Reports have been circulating that Jack is giving a wedge to NAACP ranks with his backing of Edward R. Dudley, director of the NAACP Fight For Freedom Fund, for the post.

Dudley, a former U.S. Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia, told the press:

"I am not a candidate for this position. I know that my name has been mentioned, but I do not know who is back of it."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, declared that he hadn't heard of the Dudley bid and then added curtly: "Nor have I heard nor am I interested in what Hulan Jack may be doing."

The NAACP note to Wagner said:

"While the NAACP does not ordinarily intervene in matters of this kind, we do so in this instance not only because Judge Delaney is our colleague as a board member but also because a fundamental point

...ple is involved.

"Judge Delany has rendered fine public service in his native and his race, and especially to New York City for many years and we [illegible] reliably informed that in recognition of this fact you had only an...ously reassured him reappointment.

"It appears that subsequently, from sources undisclosed, allegations of some kind, also unsubstantiated, were provided to you and that this has been the cause of your failure thus far to reappoint him."

William Arthur Sprague, president of the NAACP, and Channing H. Tobias, board chairman, signed the telegram.

TWU Rejects Authority Offer On Wage Hike

The CIO Transport Workers



LERMAN

Powell Throws Hat Into Mayoralty Ring

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D-NY) threw his hat in the ring in the 1954 mayoralty race today and said he hoped to get the Democratic nomination.

Powell said he would run in the November election if "nominated by the Democrats." If nominated, the Manhattan Congressman would be the first Negro candidate to head the Democratic city ticket.

Powell made his announcement on a television program (CBS) discussion of politics with Rep. Jacob K. Javits (R-NY), who has also stated he would accept the Republican nomination for the mayoralty.

Use Your Paper to Save Rosenbergs

In case you missed it, we bring to the attention of our readers a story we ran last week about some Worker supporters in the Bronx, and the historic, world-wide struggle to save the lives of the Ethel and Julius Rosenberg couple.

These supporters decided that one good way to enlarge the struggle was to get The Worker around, since the real story of the tragic, ruthless frame-up against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—as the movement against it was being told in the pages of The Worker and Daily Worker.

With 25 copies of The Worker, they canvassed a large housing development. They talked to dozens of families about the case, lectured persistently in story and editorial on the front page of The Worker. They met a friendly response from most, dispelled many fears, changed people's minds, got some interested to active participation in the struggle to save the framed parents.

They found quite a few who did not know there was a newspaper presenting "the other side" of the case, and some who thought it was fine there was such a paper.

They also sold a number of Workers, left others to people who were genuinely interested, laid the groundwork for widening the readership.

We repeat this story not because it is isolated. Several readers have reported to us how they have won adherents to the campaign to save the lives of the Rosenbergs through canvassing with, and otherwise spreading, The Worker and Daily Worker.

Needless to say, we are proud of whatever help we may have given to the campaign, and we

Judge Delany Hits Rosenberg Death Sentence

The death penalty in the Rosenberg case is "cruel and unusual punishment," the noted Negro jurist, Judge Hubert T. Delany of the Municipal Court, told the National Lawyers Guild Saturday.

Judge Delany said he had given much thought to the Rosenberg death sentence, and it had become clear to him that "no amendment to the Constitution forbids 'cruel and unusual punishment,' and the punishment of electrocution in this case is cruel and unusual. It is completely unprecedented in such cases."

A MONTH OF EISENHOWER

See Page 5

(Exhibit WJ-30)

the task of all supporters of the Negro liberation movement, including the Communists, to lend their unreserved support to, and to take an active part in, those programs and techniques of struggle which now embrace and propel into action the great majority of the Negro people.'

"The Communists have not put forward a program to make Communism a trend in every organization fighting for democracy in the United States; they have simply sought to chart a path that would increase Communists' contributions to the advance of democracy in the United States. And if there is a political trend led by Communists in the United States which independently supports every effort of the Negroes to free themselves from Jim Crowism, it will be hard to 'reject' it. There might be, of course, sharp disagreements expressed with Communists; there will be verbal attacks against it; but this ought to be the normal give-and-take of political life. It would seem that in such an atmosphere, devoid of the hysterias fanned by reaction and used to deny democratic rights to whites as well as Negroes, the United States could make seven-league strides towards the goal of freedom and equality for all. At least, that seemed to be the meaning of what the Communist convention decided."

MR. SHAW: I would like to offer this, Mr. Chairman, and ask that it be marked WJ-31 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-31 be made a part of the record. (See Page 202)

A. Mr. Chairman, I have here the records of a number of individuals who are active in the N.A.A.C.P., and some of them are members of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Some of them have records that go back over a long period. It would take me too long to mention all of these names. I mean, the records of all of them, so I would like to just present them to you and let you introduce them into the records.

Q. If you will, read the names, just the names of the individuals first, and we will enter them in the records.

A. Rev. James H. Robinson, Walter Reuther, Clark Powell Foreman, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Aubrey Williams, Donald L. West, and incidentally, this Donald L. West was organizer of YCL in District 4 when I was District Organizer of the Communist Party. He was my YCL organizer in the Communist Party in District 4. He is operating down here. Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Walter White, Rev. Claude C. Williams, Hubert T. DeLaney, Benjamin E. Mays, S. Ralph Harlow, both of whom are members of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., William Lloyd Imes (Rev. William Lloyd Imes), Eleanor Roosevelt — somebody should muzzle her and put her in a cage — Algernon D. Black, Earl B. Dickerson, Channing H. Tobias, Bishop W. J. Walls, and Oscar Hammerstein, II, Vice-President of the N.A.A.C.P.

Q. Now were these individuals whose names you read connected with the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. Yes, sir, they are members of the Board of Directors, or Vice-Presidents, or active in Communistic organizations in the south. They all have

WJ-31

Daily Worker, New York, Tuesday, February 19, 1957 Page 5

On the Way

by Abner W. Berry

A NEGRO WOMAN delegate arose on the floor of the recently closed convention of the Communist Party and said:

"This resolution (on the Negro question) has in it what the Negro people want rather than what we want the Negro to want."

There was generous applause for the delegate's remark and the convention overwhelmingly adopted the resolution after discussion. In essence the resolution took into account the reality confronting American Negroes and simply pledged support to all efforts now being made to further the fight for freedom. It recognized the enormous contribution made by the resurgent Negro movement and its leaders to the fight by all sections of the population, especially the labor movement, and said that Communists would do everything possible to win allies for the Negro people in these other sections.

There was nothing in that resolution that would not in normal times be applauded by any Negro or any white American interested in gaining full citizenship rights for the Negroes. But we are far from normalcy, so there were demurrers to the resolution's implications.

•

BASED on press reports of what happened at the Communist Party convention, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reacted as follows:

"We reject their support and do not need it. What the party seeks is confusion, not solution."

(Incidentally, there were similar reactions from leaders of the International Garment Workers Union and from Americans for Democratic Action concerning the convention resolution on Social Democracy.)

Dr. Wilkins assumes, I take it, that in adopting this resolution, the Communists have been directed to "invade" the NAACP or that the party itself will seek acceptance as an official NAACP ally. But this would be a false assumption and contrary to the language and spirit of the resolution adopted. The convention, among other things, said quite clearly:

"Communists are also called upon to make their maximum independent contribution towards winning the just demands of the Negro rights."

A Premature "We Reject"

And at another point the resolution recalled that it has "been the honorable task of Communists to set a high standard of devotion to and energetic leadership in the fight for Negro rights."

•

THERE WAS implied in the resolution that there would be no separate organizations set up by Communists through which they would seek to steer the Negro people's movement, but rather that they would support those organization, such as the NAACP and similar groups in the South, which were in the field.

Communists in labor unions are thus pledged to get their unions to support the NAACP, to better express the alliance of labor with the Negro people. Communists in communities are pledged to aid in increasing the membership and financial strength of the NAACP, whether as members or not. In a word, if Communists follow the resolutions, they will, in the words of the woman delegate, do "what the Negro people want," and fight for what they want.

This is stated explicitly in a section of the resolution which reads:

"It is not the task of Communists or any other group to impose upon the Negro people new forms of struggle, tactics alien to their history development as a people. Rather it is the task of all supporters of the Negro liberation movement, including the Communists, to lend their unreserved support to and to take an active part in, those programs and techniques of struggle which now embrace and propel into action the vast majority of the Negro people."

It will be hard for anyone to read into this resolution a plan to "infiltrate" or to "capture" any organization. For what is involved here is the independent activity of the Communist Party and its members. There was no indication that the party was outlining a program for the NAACP; on the contrary, there was every evidence in the resolution that such a proposal would have been voted down. Now if there had been such a proposition adopted, containing what the Communist Party thought the NAACP ought to do, then the leaders of the NAACP would have been justified in rejecting it. But as matters stand now, Mr. Wilkins' rejection of "support" is like something written on the wind. For in "reject" the support returned to in the resolution would seem to warrant every man in a big field and white and examine the source of every contribution.

"The Communists have not put forward a program to make Communism a threat to every organization fighting for democracy in the U. S. they have simply sought to chart a path that would increase Communists' contributions to the advance of democracy in the U. S. And if there is a political trend led by Communists in the U. S. which independently supports every effort of the Negroes to free themselves for democracy, it will be hard to "reject" it. There might be, of course, sharp disagreements expressed with Communists; there will be verbal attacks against it. But this ought to be the normal give-and-take of political life. It would seem that in such an atmosphere, devoid of the hysteria fanned by reaction and used to deny democratic rights to whites as well as Negroes, the U. S. could make seven-league strides towards the goal of freedom and equality for all. At least, that seemed to be the meaning of what the Communist convention decided.

Convention Adopts Plan

(Exhibit WJ-31)

long Communist records or associations, and I think they ought to be incorporated in the records. I might say, incidentally, sir, that there are many more, but I haven't had the time to compile them. I am working on them, and at some future date, I will possibly make them available to you.

Q. I noticed that one of these exhibits is a reprint of a magazine article, and I ask you whether these compilations were made under your direction?

A. No, sir, they were not.

Q. You didn't mean to imply that?

A. No, I didn't mean to say that. That one is a reprint from an article in the **American Mercury.**

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer these in evidence and ask that they be marked WJ-32 through WJ-50, inclusive.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that exhibits marked WJ-32 through WJ-50 be made a part of the record. **(Exhibits WJ-32 through WJ-50 omitted. Available in office of Committee.)**

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Would you care to proceed now?

A. Yes, I would like to at this time to state the following. I have been studying very carefully the developments in Montgomery, Alabama, and the developments in New Orleans, and the threatening developments in Baton Rouge. I speak specifically of the movement led by Rev. Martin Luther King in Montgomery and his efforts along with Rev. A. L. Davis to start a similar movement in New Orleans, and your local minister who is trying to create a similar situation here in Baton Rouge. The name of the local minister at this time eludes me.

Q. Could that be Rev. T. J. Jemison?

A. Rev. Jemison. Yes, sir, that's his name. It seems as if Rev. Davis in New Orleans has been instrumental in bringing Rev. King over here to this state to assist in organizing a movement similar to that in Montgomery. Now, I'm not saying that Rev. King is a Communist, but I am saying that Rev. King is doing the Negroes considerable harm. Rev. King has none of the qualifications, nor the wisdom, nor the experience required to give leadership to the Negro in the south in this period. He has at the present time organized masses of Negroes, and he has got them worked up to a frenzy, to the extent that they are willing to follow him though he is misleading them. Somebody has told him that he is the modern Moses. Maybe he thinks that he has a magic wand or something that he can wave and part the Red Sea and lead his people safely across to the promised land. I don't think that God has cast His mantle of Moses on Rev. King. Neither do I think that Rev. King is a modern-day Ghandi. If he were a Ghandi—you cannot import mechanically the methods that are used in India to this country. After all, the methods used in India were never successful there, and the whole situation is entirely different. Therefore, Rev. King is absolutely wrong when he is advocating to the Negroes a program of civil disobedience.

Such a program can only lead to violence and bloodshed in which many Negroes would be killed. Any policy that will set white against black and result in Negroes losing their homes, losing their jobs—it must be said that there is something radically wrong with the policy. Any policy that means the Negroes will erase all of their progress in the last 100 years must of necessity be the wrong policy.

I will tell you why it is the wrong policy. I will take the words of Rev. King himself. I happened to hear him speak at the coliseum in New Orleans. Rev. Davis and Rev. Jemison were there when he made these remarks. He said, "If they fire one Negro, make them fire 5,000. If they bomb one Negro's home, make them bomb 10,000." Now, I would like to ask Rev. King, the great Moses, the great Ghandi, if 10,000 Negroes lose their homes, is Rev. King going to build them homes, new homes? Is he going to take up contributions for them and raise money and restore their lifetime earnings, that have been put into their homes? I don't think so, but the Negro women who make suds and chase dust and slave in white folks' kitchens—they will get up the money to build him a new home if his is blown up. There is no question about that. Then, if 5,000 Negroes lose their jobs, will Rev. King be the one to come up with the money to take care of their needs? Of course, he won't. He won't be there.

Then, you consider the stark realities of this movement. That man is playing around with the lives and the hopes and the aspirations of his people. He is nothing but a dastardly misleader, and he is leading the Negroes in the south down the road to bloodshed and violence.

I want to quote from an article in the (New Orleans) Times-Picayune of Monday, January 28, 1957, by Rex Thomas and Henry Brasser, written in Montgomery, Alabama, evidently, because it is dated from there. I want to quote this one significant fact. He (Rev King) said:

"Negroes must continue to follow a policy of non-violence."

That's the Ghandi movement. If the southern Negro, under the leadership of King, developed the idea that all white people in the south hate him and are out to destroy him, it can only create a psychosis of hate. When there is a psychosis of hate developed among the people, it can be molded and fashioned into instruments of rebellion. Such a policy can only lead the Negro down the road to bloodshed, violence and revolution. I say this, that if Rev. King and his movement aren't stopped today, and if Rev. Davis and Rev. Jemison want to bring that movement into other cities, the intelligent Negroes that haven't spoken had better get busy and stop it.

I was talking to a number of Negro business men since this whole thing started. They have gone to banks and tried to get mortgages. The banks said, "Well, why don't you go to Rev. King, Rev. Davis, and Rev. Jemison? Let them give you a mortgage." It is unfortunate that they are suffering. But that type of leadership—they say you have got to sacrifice. The Negro has nothing to sacrifice. He has too little, and any policy that causes the Negro to sacrifice

everything that he has built in the last 100 years is a radically wrong policy and ought to be stopped. I think Rev. King could stand a thorough investigation.

Q. Do you believe that that type of policy will lead—if it's successful—to Communism in this area?

A. Yes, sir, it will. I also wish to say that **Political Affairs**, the **Daily Worker** and the Communists are praising King to the highest, and they are daily quoting some of his speeches which express more or less what they say. I wish to say that in Chicago on February 14, 1957, Rev. King had this to say:

> **"It is a part of something"**—speaking of the action in Montgomery—**"It is a part of something that is happening all over the world. The oppressed people are rising up. They are revolting against colonialism and imperialism and all other systems of oppression."**

Already he has become an international authority. He is trying to tell the Negroes why these rebellions and everything else are taking place in other parts of the world, without realizing that a lot of this is Communist inspired, and a lot of it is inspired by ambitious men who are seeking power in various areas, etc. This explanation is the same explanation of the Communist Party. This is the Communist Party explanation. I wonder who is giving him the party line? After all, what does he mean by saying that the Negroes are victims of imperialism and colonialism, are oppressed? The Negroes are Americans, a race. Where is the colony where Negroes are colonized? They were never deported from here and put on some distant isle where they became colonials. They've lived, they've worked, they believe in this country. They have the same rights and privileges.

Of course, what Rev. King fails to understand, and I will say this only very briefly, is that while all men are born equal, what happens is that some men use their talents and others do not. That accounts for the inequality and regardless of what anybody may say or think, you must say this, that the white people in this country have used their talents. They have built a great civilization. They have gone into the depths of the sea, the bowels of the earth; they have conquered atomic power and are talking about interplanetary space travel. They have gone into the midst of the jungle, the land of the head hunter and the poisoned dart, to advance science and advance knowledge. We have a long way to go to catch up. So when you talk about absolute equality in the fullest sense, in my opinion, the Negro leadership should realize that they have a responsibility—a responsibility to guide and inspire their people along the right paths, help them to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, and to work together as a group for cooperation—mutual cooperation between races—to the end result that they can keep what they have, strengthen their economic and political positions, and move on to higher things.

Men of King's type will not give that kind of leadership. The only thing they know is the threat and a sword. The leaders of the

N.A.A.C.P. cannot do it, because the only thing they know is the threat and a sword. They will turn white against black, Americans against each other, and divide the country to where sides are being taken. The outcome will be bloodshed and violence, and the Negro will be the victim. Heaven deliver me from this type of leadership, and Heaven deliver me from those white "friends" in organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. (and I say "friends" advisedly) who sit in their ivory towers and try to outline the program and policy for the Negro people. I say what the Negroes really need is an organization composed of Negroes only. The whites have no business in there. The whites don't have Negroes deciding policy for them. The Irish have their organizations; the Germans have theirs; the Italians have theirs; but I never see Negroes in their councils deciding on policy for them. So, it is a mark of inferiority on the part of the Negro to let a white man sit and decide what is best for him. It shows that he is still a kid, and he hasn't grown up.

During the days of slavery, the master had to take care of his slave. They are continuing that in this Twentieth Century, it seems to me, in the N.A.A.C.P.

Now, I want to say this, sir, and that is there should be a crusade on the part of the white leaders and the intelligent Negroes—the section of Negro leadership that hasn't spoken up in the south—who are capable of getting together and solving this problem around the table, honestly, without incrimination, without threats, and without violence. I know that the N.A.A.C.P. can't do that. It has called the leaders of the south every conceivable type of name. The N.A.A.C.P. has labeled them everything it can, and there is no basis for them to negotiate with the N.A.A.C.P. on any terms, because the N.A.A.C.P. has already built up a wall that cannot be gotten over, gotten under, or gone around. I say the N.A.A.C.P. has outlived its usefulness. Today it is nothing more than a vehicle of the Communist Party, in which the Communists are colonizing for the purpose of inciting racial rebellion in the south, with the ultimate object, in the insane confusion, to seize power and take over the reins of government in the United States.

Q. We have some more questions we would like to ask you, particularly with regard to something you testified on earlier. You have described the Southern Regional Council in your earlier testimony.

A. Yes, sir, I did. I do have something that I would like to have introduced here. I have a letterhead, **Mississippi Council on Human Relations.**

Q. What is the **Mississippi Council on Human Relations?**

A. This is an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. It is located at 1104 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Now, on this letterhead there are a long list of individuals in Mississippi who are the officers, from President, Vice-President, Secretary, on down to staff officers.

Q. Would you read their names, please?

A. Well, you have on the Board of Directors, President, Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Mississippi; Vice-President, Mrs. C. E. Dishman, Piney Woods, Mississippi; Mr. Charles T. Morgan, Mathiston, Mississippi;

Secretary-Treasurer, Msgr. Joseph B. Brunini, 123 North West Street, Jackson, Mississippi; Mrs. E. B. Dean, 206 32nd Avenue, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Mr. Alexander Pitz-High, P. O. Box 747, Vicksburg, Mississippi; Miss Alma Hickman, 1509½ Pearl Street, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Rev. Duncan M. Hobart, 1116 23rd Avenue, Meridian, Mississippi; Rabbi Charles Mantinband, P. O. Box 1326, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Mr. S. W. Miller, 1120 West Pearl Street, Jackson, Mississippi; Mrs. D. S. Wheatley, P. O. Box 307, Greenwood, Mississippi; Dr. H. G. Williamson, 113 Thomas Street, Grenada, Mississippi; Dr. Thomas L. Zuber, 25 Jordan Avenue, West Point, Mississippi. On the staff, Executive Director, Mrs. R. S. Lyells, 1104 Lynch Street, Jackson, 3, Mississippi; Associate Directors, Mrs. J. A. Burt, Jr., Mrs. C. A. Williams. This letter was signed by Mrs. R. S. Lyells, Executive Director.

Now, I have here an annual meeting—a folder advertising the Annual Meeting on November 5, 1955.

Q. You are speaking now of the same organization, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations?

A. That is correct.

Q. And what was the date of that?

A. The date of this is November 5, 1955.

Q. Does that particular program or bulletin that you have there contain the names of any other individuals there that are involved in that organization?

A. Well, it does. It contains the names of persons who they felt were of sufficient importance to list in a "Who's Who." Among them are Mr. Sam Barefield, Mr. J. H. Bolden, Dr. Ernst Borinski, Msgr. Jos. B. Brunini, Mrs. C. C. Clark, Mr. Harold Fleming, Mrs. A. Charles Hunter, Mrs. R. S. Lyells, Rev. John Mangrum, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Rev. M. G. Prueitt, Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Miss Jamie Turnage.

Q. I believe in your earlier testimony you traced—may I have those and enter them in the record?

(Witness hands same to Mr. Shaw.)

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer these in the record and ask that they be marked WJ-51 and WJ-52 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that exhibits marked WJ-51 and WJ-52 be made a part of the records of this committee. (See Page 208 for Exhibit WJ-51 and Pages 209 and 210 for Exhibit WJ-52)

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. I believe in your previous testimony you have traced that organization as having been founded by James Jackson, who is a notorious Communist organizer in these parts. Is that correct?

A. That is correct, sir.

Q. I am speaking of the Southern Regional Council.

A. Yes, sir, I quoted that from the **Daily Worker**, and I think it was introduced into the record as an exhibit.

Q. This particular organization we have just discussed—the Mississippi Council on Human Relations—is an affiliate of that organization—the Southern Regional Council. Is that correct?

Mississippi Council on Human Relations

(Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council)
1184 LYNCH STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

September 20, 195[illegible]

Board of Directors

President
Mrs. W. H. Rollin
Ekmont, Mississippi

Vice Presidents
Mrs. C. E. Dickson
Pleer Veeds, Mississippi

Mr. Charles T. Magee
Natchez, Mississippi

Secretary-Treasurer
Mags. Joseph B. Brunini
123 North Hugh Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. E. E. Cox
205 32nd Avenue
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Mr. Alexander Fleetwood
P. O. Box 767
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Miss Alma Hickman
1309½ Front Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Rev. Duncan M. Holmes
1116 32nd Avenue
Meridian, Mississippi

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
P. O. Box 1338
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Mr. S. V. Miller
1128 West Pearl Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. D. S. Sweatery
P. O. Box 309
Greenwood, Mississippi

Dr. N. C. Williamson
113 Thomas Street
Senatobia, Mississippi

Dr. Thomas L. Zeber
23 Jordan Avenue
West Point, Mississippi

Staff

Executive Director
Mrs. R. S. Lyells
1184 Lynch Street
Jackson 3, Mississippi

Associate Directors
Mrs. J. A. Burt, Jr.
Mrs. C. A. Williams

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations needs members and friends - friends among those who agree with us but prefer not to become members of the organization at this time.

I trust that we are correct in counting you as belonging in one or the other of these categories. The enclosed letter and materials are for your information.

Please let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) R. S. Lyells
Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

[illegible]
enc:

(Exhibit WJ-51)

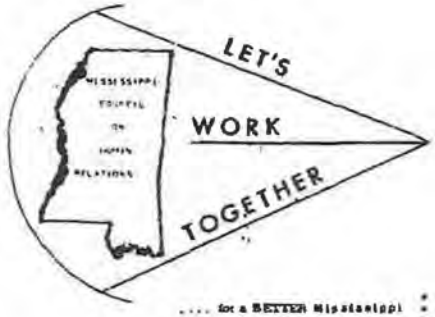
WJ

ANNUAL MEETING

November 5, 1955

Theme:

A Report of Progress in Human Relations



YWCA - 226 North State Street

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

(Exhibit WJ-52a)

MORNING SESSION

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Presiding

10:00 LITTLE SONGS ON BIG SUBJECTS — *Mrs. A. Chas. Hunter, Miss Jamie Tumage*

10:15 Hymn, O GOD OUR HELP IN AGES PAST
PRAYER — *Rev. John Mangrum*

Greetings and Introductions

Report of the Executive Director — *Mrs. R. S. Lyells*

10:50 Introduction of Program Chairman

Orientation for discussion groups — *Mrs. C. C. Clark*

11:15 - 12:45 Discussion Group Meetings
Leaders: 1. *Dr. Ernst Borinski*
2. *Rev. M. G. Pruett*
3. *Mrs. W. H. Ratliff*

LUNCH

AFTERNOON SESSION

1:45 YOUTH SOUNDS OFF - Roundtable for the Intercollegiate Council
Moderator — *Rev. Sam Barefield*
Consultant — *Mr. J. Hall Baldon*

2:15 RETROSPECT - 1955
Leaders from Discussion Groups

(Exhibit WJ-52b)

2:45 PROSPECTUS – 1956
Mr. Harold Fleming, Associate Director
Southern Regional Council

3:15 Business Session

Closing Commitment — *Rev. Msgr. Jos. B. Brunini*

ADJOURNMENT

WHO'S WHO

Mr. Sam Barefield	Dir. Wesley Foundation Mississippi Southern College
Mr. J. H. Bolden	Principal Campbell College High School
Dr. Ernst Borinski	Head of Dept. of Sociology Tougaloo College
Rev. Msgr. Jos. B. Brunini	Sr. Peters Rectory
Mrs. C. C. Clark	Supervisor of Group Services Mississippi Library Comm'n
Mr. Harold Fleming	Associate Director Southern Regional College Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. A. Chas. Hunter	Columbus, Mississippi
Mrs. R. S. Lyells	Executive Director Miss. Council on Human Rel.
Rev. John Mangrum	Chaplain, Tougaloo College
Rabbi Charles Mantinband	Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Rev. M. G. Prewitt	Dist. Supt. Upper Miss. Conf. Methodist Church
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff	Chm. Status of Women, Woman's Division, Methodist Church
Miss Jamie Turnage	Executive Director YWCA

(Exhibit WJ-52c)

O GOD OUR HELP IN AGES PAST

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home.

Under the shadow of thy throne,
Still may we dwell secure;
Sufficient is Thine Arm alone,
And our defense is sure.

Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting Thou art God,
To endless years the same.

Thou like an ever-rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away.
They fly, forgotten as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Be Thou our guide while life shall last,
And our eternal home.

(Exhibit WJ-52d)

A. That is right, sir, and I would like to state here that according to the **Report of the Fund for the Republic**, page 27, the Southern Regional Council received from this Fund a total of $445,000, during the year 1954. In January, 1954, they received $5,000. In April, 1954, they received $240,000, and in a subsequent report, they received the balance.

Q. That is an official report of the Fund for the Republic?

A. That is correct, sir. This is the official **Report of the Fund for the Republic** dated May 31, 1955.

Q. Now, the Fund for the Republic is an organization created by the Ford Foundation. Is that right?

A. That is correct, sir.

Q. And it is supporting the Southern Regional Council which has been previously identified in our discussion earlier here today. Is that right?

A. That is right, sir, and I might also add that this fund has been investigated by government agencies, and I think that Congressman Walters, of the House Un-American Activities Committee, did at one time issue a statement condemning the Fund for the Republic for its support of the Communists' cause.

Q. Would you like to enter that?

A. Yes sir, I would.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WJ-53 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that Exhibit WJ-53 be made a part of the records of this Committee. (See Pages 211, 212.)

A. One last thing, I have here the record of Rev. Edward D. McGowan. He is a Negro minister, and he was head of a committee to defend Negro leadership. The Negro leadership that McGowan set out to defend was composed of Negro Communists who were convicted under the Smith Act, etc. He was heading this committee, and he was ably supported by the Bishop, W. J. Walls. I have the record of McGowan here. Among those that he supported were Ben Davis and the rest of them. I think that this is the type of leadership that some of these ministers are giving, and they are using the church to help the Communists destroy our government.



(Exhibit WJ-53a)

WORKERS' LETTERS

From Japan

Comrades:

In the midst of slavery reaction, we lost the most militant comrade Sanji Yamamoto from our campaign. He was killed by a cruel murderer of white terrorism on the night of March 9th, 1928, at the hotel in Tokyo. He was the only M. P. by strong support of the Workers' and Peasants Party (Nodomintoh)—the most powerful revolutionary organization in our country—which was ordered dissolved by the reactionary Tanaka Government in April, 1928.

Comrade Yamamoto was fighting against bourgeois reaction, especially against the new Anti-Communist Law ("Peace Preservation Law") in the Diet for the demands of the masses for the political freedom.

Comrade Yamamoto has not fallen in vain. His death under the banner of the Nationalistic, inspires us to greater efforts in the class-struggle.

Comrades in all parts of the world! Remember dear Yamamoto as the martyr of class struggle with bitter tears!

Japan " TONAJI HOASHI.

From Prison

Dear Mike:

Several unhappy years ago, I made a discovery that all but surprised me out of my 265½ wits. I learned that I was being gypped, systematically robbed of the precious fruits of my daily toil, by a tender hearted philanthropist named Morgan or Rockefeller or something like that, and this knowledge made me somewhat warm. Right away I wanted my mission back and I set out to get it back, and—well, I'm an important kind of guy, and labor organizations and picket lines and many hot orators seemed such slow and roundabout ways of going at the thing that I soon abandoned them and devised a plan whereby I thought I might get back my own, for myself, and get it pronto. But my plan was too individualistic, it seems. Anyway, it didn't work, and that, methinks my inability to gather a shade for 120 Million and the *New Masses*. You see, Mike, my one-man revolution so riled the fraternity of fat ones that they put me in the can, where I've remained some four and half years cooling off and thinking things over. They've even denied me the right to be a good slave, since they no longer allow me to swap brawn for gold (even so, I'm not quite certain that I'm not being exploited in some way, despite the free hams and other lavishes) and, worst of all, they have made me a downright bum by refusing to honor my checks.

Best wishes to you and New Masses.

Sincerely yours.

From Carolina

Dear Friends:

We have received the following letter from our representative in the Carolina strike area which presents a vivid picture of the situation:

Gastonia, N. C., April 11, 1929.

In view of the misery and-union propaganda being spread by Manville Jenckes mill of Gastonia, through the medium of leaflets, of which enclosed are a sample, the local newspaper, hundreds of copies of which are distributed free of charge by the millowners, and by word-of-mouth and petty bosses, with the emphasis laid on the food question, it was absolutely necessary to open the store immediately. We began our relief work last Sunday. In addition to the necessity of counteracting propaganda, it was also necessary literally to stave off starvation. The material condition of the people here is far below that of the miners or New Bedford Textile workers. They have absolutely no savings or source of credit. The company store "coupon" system meant that they practically never had a cent of cash. Their wages—$6.00, $8.00, $10.00 average pay this for adult workers, means that they always lived just a moment from starvation. I have talked to members who literally had only a nickel or a dime in the world—fathers and mothers of families—when they came out on strike.

The relief work is well under way. We rented a good store, large, cool (it is hot as hell here) and very well equipped with shelves, counters, lights, water, etc. It is just about seven doors from union headquarters and about a block from the mill.

We have a real first rate relief committee, primarily representative and self reliant. The good thing about the committee is that they really feel their responsibility in the matter and take their job as serious union work.

General record since opening Monday afternoon is 195 families supplied on Monday, April 8th and 180 families on Tuesday, April 9th. Have no record of individuals yet for Monday, but today's covered 861 individuals.

In this town a "family" very often means 3 or 4 families, or a family and anywhere up to 12-14 boarders living in a company shack. One of our store committee, for instance, just told me that at his house five families, including 22 persons, live in six small rooms. In one house of the lower, 12x12 seven people, three married couples and one baby live.

If only you send funds the work will go on finely. Will appeal out to other towns where strikes are so near as funds warrant. But please hurry money. Have no idea where the devil money is to come from for orders we must have tomorrow.

Amy Schachter.

Funds for relief can be sent to the Workers International Relief, 1 Union Square.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of New Masses, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1929.

State of New York,
County of New York.

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Horace Gregory, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the New Masses and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, New Masses, Inc., 39 Union Square, New York City. Editor, Michael Gold, 39 Union Square, New York City. Managing Editor, None. Business Manager, Horace Gregory, 39 Union Square, New York City.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) New Masses, Inc., 39 Union Square, New York City. Michael Gold, 39 Union Square, New York City. Joseph Freeman, 39 Union Square, New York City. Joseph Vogel, 39 Union Square, New York City. Mary Vorse, 39 Union Square, New York City. Manuel Gomez, 39 Union Square, New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

NATALIE GOMEZ.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19 day of April, 1929.

Sidney Zeidenstein, Notary Public,
My commission expires March 30, 1930.

IN THIS ISSUE

Bill Dunne—former editor of the *Daily Bulletin* and the *Daily Worker* has just returned from Mongolia.

Martin Russak—silk weaver, is at present organizer for the National Textile Workers Union.

Harvey O'Connor—is editor of the *Federated Press*.

Joseph Kalar—is working to a lumber mill, contributing to various poetry magazines and writing (as he says) some chapters of workers lives for the *New Masses*.

Gan Kalish—who designed our cover, is a young Polish artist whose work appears in the *Forum* and other publications.

Joseph Freeman—co-author of *Dollar Diplomacy* (with Scott Nearing) is at work on a book now.

Wm. Gropper—besides contributing to various national publications, illustrating books, working to start cartoons for the *Jewish Daily Freiheit*, is also at work on a painting, his own to be named soon.

Paul Peters—is working on the docks of New Orleans. His latest stories were published in *Contempo* and the *American Mercury*. One story from My play "Machine-Age"

(Exhibit WJ-5b)

Grantee	Date authorized	Amount authorized
Southern Regional Council		
For preparation and distribution of a summary of the book *The Negro and the Schools.*	January, 1954	$ 5,000
For expanding community education in intergroup relations in twelve states.	April, 1954	240,000
Stanford University School of Law		
To finance a summer study on a civil liberties topic by members of the *Stanford Law Review.*	May, 1955	5,000

(Exhibit WJ-53b)

Of course, we can say our country has many faults. Yes, all of us know it. We are not a perfect country. We don't have a perfect government, but we are moving in the right direction. We are a young nation, and many of these things that are happening today are the growing pains of a young nation. We don't have the tradition and the background of older and more established nations, and I think that with patience and common sense and working towards good will and cooperation, self help, etc., I think we could go a long way. It seems as if today everybody wants to call everybody a name and carry a sword in hand and be ready at the drop of a hat to start a fight. Well, it is easy to start a fight, but it is hard to get out of it.

Reverend King is out in deep water now, and he can't swim so he is screaming to the Great White Father in Washington, President Eisenhower, to quit all of his business and come down here and bail him out. Well, that's not going to happen. It shows you the utter stupidity of the man, and he wants to create the impression among Negroes that President Eisenhower doesn't want to interfere in this because he doesn't like Negroes. You see, that's how this thing goes. He got himself in that mess, and he doesn't know how to get out of it, and "Ike" is not going to bail him out. He would be a fool if he did come down here and do it. I say this, that instead of going out here and stirring up these conditions, when you don't know where you are going or what you are going to do and what the end result will be, you should stop and think and give pause for a moment, maybe count ten or say the Lord's Prayer over a half a dozen times. Maybe by that time some common sense might seep through.

Now, Reverend King is definitely out on a limb. What somebody should do is saw off the limb, and I think that would be the best thing that could happen. I am sure that many people of our race in the south would welcome that, because he has created a lot of violence and a lot of bloodshed. There is no telling what the end

will be if this megalomaniac who is seeking power continues operating as he is today in Montgomery and going around the rest of the country trying to get people to follow his example. His type of boycott was set forth as one of the instruments of struggle for the Communist Party in the resolution on the Negro question. He has gone back, and he has dug it up and he is trying to use it. But, as I said before, when you declare open warfare against the white race like Rev. King is doing, you have to take into consideration many factors. Those of you who have been in military service know the logistics of warfare dictate, of course, that you be adequately prepared, be in a position to keep up a sustained fight in possibility of victory.

This was at no time taken into consideration. He should have known that in order to declare open warfare he has to take up where the other fellow leaves off, and he can't do that because he is not in a position to do it. If he, of course, wants to be a dead martyr he may, because already he has said, "If anybody is to die, let me die." I think that is a product of a sick mind. No dead martyr ever won a battle, and if he happens to be killed accidentally, then he will be as dead as any other pigeon, without having accomplished anything but having created a miserable, nasty situation that threatens to erase 100 years of progress that the Negroes have made since emancipation. I would hate to see a situation that would return us to the days immediately following the Civil War.

I would like to see the south working in harmony, white and black together to solve their mutual problems. I think this is the only way that sort of thing is going to be achieved. And any who undertake to disturb that, I think, are traitors, and the Negro should answer in no uncertain terms. Throw them on the scrap heap of history. Go ahead and build an organization exclusively of Negroes which will think in terms of how the Negro can pull himself up by his bootstraps and prove to the world that he has the same capabilities and qualities of all other races. It's not enough to yell that you have these qualities; you have got to show it; you have got to prove it. You are demanding that of the Negro. The Negroes should get together and show you. If he would do that, then all of these other things would vanish into thin air. That is my opinion, gentlemen.

THE CHAIR: Are there any questions from the committee?

BY MR. NAPPER:

Q. Just to subject my colleagues to a little bit of repetition, I believe you were present this morning when I asked the preceding witness to attest to the correctness of four statements that I made in summary of the testimony of yesterday's witness, Mr. Joseph Kornfeder. I ask if you will attest to the correctness of the statements as I enumerate them. 1. The goal of the Communist Party is world domination?

A. That is correct.

Q. 2. Towards world conquest and/or domination, various allies are formed with the Communist Party, which allies are liquidated at the

end of their usefulness, or are made completely subservient to the Communist Party?

A. That is correct.

Q. 3. I might say here that I did not include the term, N.A.A.C.P., in my interrogation of the prior witness for the reason he made no testimony with reference to that organization, but I will include it here, inasmuch as you have.

A. By all means you should.

Q. The Negro race, and/or the N.A.A.C.P., have been and are presently being exploited as allies for the Communist Party toward world domination?

A. That is correct.

Q. 4. Upon termination of the usefulness of the Negro race and/or the N.A.A.C.P. as allies, said allies will, according to the past history of the Communist Party, be either liquidated or made completely subservient to the Communist Party?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now then, let me ask you one further question or two—the first of which—from facts within your own knowledge, is it your opinion that the so-called Communist Trojan Horse is stabled today within the N.A.A.C.P.?

A. Yes sir, it is.

Q. And my last question. Since we have established that the aim and goal of the Communist Party is world domination, you have testified that one of its steps, consequently, must be the overthrow of the United States Government?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, then, the point which is to me most crucial to this hearing is: if that is a necessity, then they must successfully overthrow the respective governments of the forty-eight states, one of which is the State of Louisiana?

A. That is correct, sir.

SENATOR RAINACH: Are there any further questions from the committee? If there are no further questions, the Chair at this point would like to make a few brief remarks.

The purpose of this hearing, as stated in the beginning, is to inquire into the influences that are bringing about a serious disturbance of the peace and tranquillity that normally exists between the races in this state, and in the other states of the south and the nation, if possible. In conducting this hearing, we are in a small way making history because, insofar as I can determine, this is the first time in the United States that a hearing has been conducted for the sole purpose of inquiring into the racial aspects of the subversion problem in this country.

We had before us yesterday two witnesses, one who has always been on the American side of the fence in this fight, who served 17 years with the F.B.I. in combating subversion. He is a native of this country. We had another witness who was born across the Atlantic, who served about 17 years on the opposite side of the struggle, who after serious study came over to the American side and has been an invaluable factor in the cause of this country, who is considered an

authority by those in a position to know—an authority on the Communist question. Both of these men were white men. It has taken a great deal of courage for them to carry on their part of the struggle, and the State of Louisiana is grateful to them for coming here to testify before this committee.

But the witnesses we have today require a great deal more courage to testify, and in a sense the State of Louisiana is in even greater debt to them. They have both been on the Communist side of this controversy. They have repented and they have come back to the American side of the struggle. They have proved by their activities over a number of years and in associations with the Federal Government itself that they are sincere and are unquestionably allies to our cause.

The true picture of the Communist penetration, and the Communist utilization of the colored people of this country as an instrument toward conquest of the United States by Russia has never been brought to light heretofore. It has been carefully skirted by the committees of Congress. All of the committees of Congress, who are composed of members of the two national parties, have been carefully advised by their parties to stay out of this question, because they were afraid to face the bloc vote in the north, in the cities of the north that have been dominated by the N.A.A.C.P.

Without the testimony of these two witnesses today, the picture would have been only half drawn. With their testimony, we have a clear outline of the whole program, that is aimed at the south and at the nation. And with their testimony we have a beginning by which this state and the other states that are affected, and gradually the whole nation, can, through investigation and hearings, bring to light and circumvent the whole conspiracy.

It takes courage to start from nowhere and battle, like these two witnesses here today have done. We know what it means to start from nowhere ourselves. We feel that the thought they have presented—the thought that the Negroes of the United States should form their own organization, be led by their own leadership, with the help of the white people of the United States, is the answer to the problem. That, side by side, the races of this country under a system of mutual cooperation can work out their problems with peace and good will and that both races can progress together toward a goal that will be for the good of each race and to the credit of each when the history of this country is finally written.

So, on behalf of the committee, I want to extend my personal appreciation and the appreciation of each of the individual members for your appearance here, and to express the hope that what you have done today will be the beginning of a movement in behalf of your people of which you and we can be proud. (Applause)

Are there any further questions? Are there any comments? If there are none, the hearings are closed for today. The committee will convene in the morning at 8:30 A.M. We plan to examine witnesses who will bring this problem even closer to the State of Louisiana, and we expect to conclude our hearings by noon or shortly thereafter tomorrow. Thank you.

— WITNESS EXCUSED —

HEARINGS OF LOUISIANA JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, MARCH 9, 1957, 9:30 A. M., IN THE COURT OF APPEALS, FOURTH FLOOR, LOUISIANA STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA.

SENATOR RAINACH: The meeting of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee will come to order, and the Secretary will proceed with calling the roll.

ROLL CALL BY SECRETARY, REPRESENTATIVE STINSON:

PRESENT: Representative Carroll L. Dupont
Senator Louis H. Folse
Representative John S. Garrett
Senator H. W. Jones
Senator W. M. Rainach
Senator Alvin T. Stumpf
Representative Ford E. Stinson
General Counsel W. M. Shaw

ABSENT: Representative E. W. Gravolet, Jr.
Senator A. L. Stewart

REPRESENTATIVE STINSON: Mr. Chairman, we have a quorum of 8.

SENATOR RAINACH: We have 8 present and a quorum. At this time the General Counsel will call the next witness to the stand.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Mrs. Martha Edmiston to the stand, please.

THE WITNESS, MRS. MARTHA NICHOLS EDMISTON, BEING DULY SWORN TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH, SO HELP HER GOD, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Mrs. Edmiston, would you please give your name and spell it for the record, please?

A. Martha Nichols Edmiston. E-d-m-i-s-t-o-n.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Edmiston?

A. At Waynesville, Ohio.

Q. What is your occupation?

A. Newspaper reporter, general assignment for the Middletown Journal.

Q. Did you receive a subpoena to attend this hearing?

A. Yes.

Q. Mrs. Edmiston, as I understand it, you and your husband were among the first husband and wife team who entered the Communist Party for the Federal Bureau of Investigation at their request. Is that correct?

A. As far as we know, Mr. Shaw, yes. We offered our services to the Bureau in early 1940.

Q. Would you relate to the committee the circumstances surrounding the entry of yourself and your husband into the party for the FBI and also preface that, if you would, by your personal history leading up to that?

A. Would you like a working background history?

Q. Please.

A. For both of us or just for myself — Ed is a graduate of Ohio State and Harvard Law School. He practiced law. He was admitted to the Ohio and Florida bars, and during the depression — early depression — when we were married, he got out of law practice to take up real estate

for his father—and didn't assume it, but veered off into public relations and newspaper work.

My background — I graduated from Waynesville High School, had some work at Wilmington College in Ohio. I got into newspaper work, which was my family's business mostly, then public relations. Early in 1939, I was doing a daily newspaper column for Ohio papers, on Ohio history. Ed was engaged in public relations work. That's when we had the opportunity to observe the Communist Party in action, a first hand view of them.

After we left the party (in 1941) both of us went to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. We had no protection. We couldn't admit that we had been working for the FBI until it came to be a matter of public hearing, and the Bureau preferred to suppress that until later. So, we went to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base and took civilian employment there. I was engaged in writing technical manuals, later edited the two base newspapers, and still later became public relations officer — civilian personnel — for the base.

It was in 1950 when we first testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War — when people that we knew, some of the Communists with whom we had worked, were back with the same old agitations for peace and "let's keep America out of the war." So, it was felt necessary that we testify at that time, and we identified many of the people who had been engaged in the same work for all of these years.

In '53, continuing my work background — I went to Beronca Manufacturing Corporation, an aeroplane components manufacturer, as public relations director at Middletown, Ohio. I left there last July, and this fall, went to the **Middletown Journal.** Ed has been in newspaper work except for the time at Wright-Patterson when he was affiliated with the motion picture branch in production work. Starting with the Communist Party and our work with that — our means of getting into the party —

Q. Let me ask you this. When was this you first entered the party — what year?

A. It was in 1940. The people who were our means of getting into the party were a young couple we had known in Columbus, Ohio, in the early '30s, in fact, in the early depression, and we had seen considerable of them in Columbus. They were part of our same crowd, a young printer and his wife. We had lost track of them over the years until in 1939, when we came back to Columbus — Ed to set up a public relations office, and I to use the archives of the Ohio State Library for my sort of research. We had seen them also in 1937, and it was then that we had our first intimation that they were on the radical side.

Of course, in 1937, most of us in America weren't paying much attention to this little batch of rabble-rousers of the Communist Party. We liked to visualize them as followers with a bomb under their coat. We didn't think much about the Communist Party. We thought of them, perhaps, as a minority political party.

In '37, we dropped in on the young couple that we had known earlier, Steve and Nell Grattan. We dropped in to see the Grattans at

their home, and found that they had a houseful of young guests, who Steve said were students from Ohio State University. They were busy rolling out some literature on mimeograph machines. The mimeograph machine is the weapon of the Communist Party, from which they roll out their many tracts to be passed out at factory gates and so on. We asked Steve what they were up to. Were they engaged in some community project? We couldn't imagine anything else that would call all these people to his house. He drew us aside and said that he had become secretary to the Communist Party in Ohio. Well, that didn't mean very much to us at the time. As I say, we were quite naive about its aims and objectives, and, particularly, we weren't interested in Communists. So, we sort of listened attentively and politely, and Steve said, "If you people are newspaper people, why don't you get in on the ground floor of this movement? It is the workers' party." He said, "We have powerful friends in Washington who are backing us." Well, that gave us a big laugh on the way home. We thought that was a gross exaggeration.

We promptly forgot all about it. In 1939, it was, we came back to pursue our various branches of work in Columbus. We ran into Nell one day on the street, and at that time, if you recall, the Hitler-Stalin pact was in effect. Nell was kind of skittish. We thought that was sort of funny. She said that her husband was at workers' school. That didn't make an impression on us either. And she was looking for a place to live. Well, here was a "gal" by herself, and we had engaged ourselves a pretty good sized house, so, hospitably, like any American would be, we said she could come up and stay with us.

And so, she came up to stay with us. In the next few days, we had an alarming number of visitors at our house. They had little secret huddles with our guest — our house guest. And we thought nothing. We were too busy to pay much attention to them. After a while, we became aware that it all followed a set pattern. We weren't being given any last names of these people. It was just "Comrade somebody" and "Comrade someone else." We found that — it dawned upon us finally — that we were holding interviews for the Communist Party in Columbus, Ohio.

What to do about it? Here we were — stuck with a house guest who was entertaining half of the Columbus, Ohio Communist Party. She was acting as secretary during her husband's absence from the city, and as treasurer. Her's was a very important role in the Communist Party. We, fortunately, didn't object (openly) too much to the things we began hearing. People started trusting us a little bit, and all the comrades got used to seeing us around our house; and pretty soon they started talking to us and handing us out little bits of literature.

Among these was a book they finally gave Ed, and, being newspaper people, we read everything we can lay our hands on. It was the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. That is the "Bible for Revolution." We realized what the thing was about. Here was a conspiracy, and we were seeing one of the lower echelons at work right in our own house. At that time, the Communist Party was to all intents

and purposes getting funds for China — not for the starving people — not to support those people — but to better the Communist Party in China, the very operators we fought later in Korea.

We saw this thing working out, and we wondered what anyone could do. Ed and I got together in a clear space to make sure there weren't any Communists around. We talked the thing over and said, "somebody better attack this thing and do a reporting job" — and nobody was in a better position than we were. We fooled around some time longer with the thing — we didn't know exactly how to get to the FBI. It was still a remote organization to us, but eventually we set up our contacts (with the FBI). We found that the prime object was that we obtain actual party membership. Well, the Hitler-Stalin pact was in effect—these people were underground just as they are today. They were pretty strict about the whole thing. How were we going to penetrate the Communist Party — that was our little problem.

About that time, Grattan came back into town to claim his wife from our house and set up their Communist headquarters and domestic establishment down further in the same part of town. At this time, Grattan praised us for our interest in the Communist Party in allowing them the use of our house. (Of course, we were invaded by them). He suggested that since we had shown an interest in the workers' party that we join some of the front groups. Well, it looked all right to us. That was our first step. We had a chance — an invitation into the front groups, but not into the Communist Party — they weren't inducting anyone, I mean, at that time. Party cards? There were no party cards, other than information on people that was kept in the secretary's head. It always happens when the party goes underground. Am I going too much into detail, Mr. Shaw?

Q. No, go ahead.

A. The first group that I was assigned to by Steve Grattan as a prospective customer for the Communist Party was the League of Women Shoppers. Now, that's a pretty innocuous sounding name. There are other names like that today that sound like a nice organization or group of matrons concerned with governmental problems. We've got a lot of groups like the League of Women Shoppers, which had a couple of very fine old ladies at its head with the membership and the directing officers packed from the Communist Party. I recognized many of them as people who had been to visit our guest at our home. That was my first assignment.

Our next one — the next suggestion that the Communist Party secretary had for us was that we go and join the Workers' Alliance of America. Probably some of you remember that Communist Party front of the 1930s and '40s. That was eventually found to be more or less a training ground for prospective Communist Party members. It was a mixed group of Negroes and white people. They were clamoring for more relief, more WPA, and certain reforms in WPA, and so on. They were pushing the line of the Communist Party, because all of its speakers and, in our section at Columbus, all of its officers were Communist Party members.

We did pretty well with that group. Somehow or another, we

were able to "ham it up" to the extent that they accepted us pretty readily. And with that group, I became secretary. Ed had some office — have forgotton what. Within that group, I should say, the largest percentage was Negro. When I say that, I do not mean just Communist Negroes. We saw within the party the pitiless exploitation of Negro people, and this was one of our best examples in the Workers' Alliance of America. We had entrapped these people into the Workers' Alliance, who unknowingly sat there and were given the party line. With that group, we picketed the city hall about every week.

One of the pitiful examples that I always think about in that picket line was one Negro family, who were extremely poor and had a lot of children. They came to the party meetings. They were one of the few families who became actual Communist Party members, because very often they would have refreshments there. We were reprimanded quite severely once by Communist Party secretary, Steve Grattan, for having slipped them some money. We knew they needed it. Steve said, "You do not give money to the poor — you give them pamphlets to incite revolution." That was our reprimand: "Never give money to a poor man — give him pamphlets, so that he will fight the 'people's battles'." That was the case of this poor family, who didn't know what on earth the Communist Party was about, but they went along, because occasionally, they had a picnic or something like that and those little kids could participate in it. The pitiful part was that those little kids were also put on the picket line at night when they should have been in bed.

Our other members of the Communist Party were pretty high powered people, who packed that Workers' Alliance. Steve was one of their speakers. We had people down from party headquarters in Cleveland. That was our state party headquarters. All of those people came down to give them the Communist Party line. Of course, at that time, we were clamoring for peace — those days were the days of "no intervention in World War II," and we were taking up the party objective against conscription. That went on, of course, until the change of the party line.

So, we worked along with the Workers' Alliance, and, as I say, we obtained offices in that organization. We found earlier in party work that the best way to gain admission to the party was to commit an illegal act. That was a shocker to us, too. That was a peculiar way of joining a "political party," as it called itself then, a "minor political party."

During the summer of 1940, the Communist Party was attempting to place its candidates on the ballot in the State of Ohio, as well as every other state in the union. You probably had candidates here in Louisiana. I don't know. Earl Browder was the national candidate for president. Steve was in charge of getting out petitions, of course, in Columbus. There were a number of us who went out with petitions. It was done illegally and fraudulently. We knew it would be, and we entered into it purposely, because we knew that was the only way to get into the Communist Party. Just stick out your neck, show that you are a tough revolutionist, and you've just about got it made.

Q. Would you tell how it was done illegally and fraudulently?

A. Well, in the first place, we, being non-Communist Party members, had to be accompanied by someone who steered our illegal efforts. We were given on a clip board, such as the clerk has here, a petition with the spaces for the names. Up at the top of the thing, it read, frankly, "This is the Communist Party of the State of Ohio. We want to put our candidates on the ballot." Well, in their printing job, they had a space down here that said, "This is the party for the working people. We want better schools, we want more government housing." It didn't say a word about the Communist Party.

So, at Steve's — not request, but demand — we turned the top paragraph under on our clip board, so that only "This is the party for the working people" showed and the legend with it. Then Steve directed us to the parts of town where we could find the most illiteracy. Primarily they were set up for the Negro sections of town. There we read them the lower part, and it sounded pretty good. We were "looking for government housing," and that was better than they had in those parts of town. We were "looking for better schools, more relief, more WPA." If people couldn't sign it themselves, the Communist Party member signed it for them. You would see lines of names in the same handwriting with an "X" marked besides the name. Sometimes party members just put on the "X" mark, too, if they indicated any willingness at all and got a name from them. That's how the party would operate.

Then, all of the petitions were brought back to party headquarters and each petition passer was given a batch of them. It didn't matter where you passed them out in town, you were given a batch of them, that you had to have notarized.

But to show you how naive people were about the Communist Party at that time, Ed and I played it straight. Occasionally, we broke away from them (the Communists) and we would go out and hand one of these things to somebody on the street, and say, "This is the Communist Party petition to get their candidates on the ballot." Oh, they would sign it. They would say, "Well, guess everybody's got a right to speak his piece." Just unconscious about what the meaning of the thing was. (Of course, we checked those off for the Bureau later on).

The county prosecutor, Ralph Bartlett, in Columbus, looked over this thing with a stern eye. He knew it was fraudulent, and he issued warrants for the arrest of 7 people. We planned it that I should be one of those 7 people arrested. First of all, the Communist Party seeks to make martyrs of its women. They think it looks more pitiful. We (Ed and I) figured that if one of us was apprehended and possibly might serve some time in jail, it had better be one of us, rather than both of us — so I was the one who was arrested.

This thing, incidentally, was timed. I have jumped ahead of myself too fast. This was the effort by which we first got into the Communist Party. It was after that that we were offered membership. But let's go back to the summer and fall of 1940.

In the summer of 1940 we were setting up various peace groups all over the City of Columbus. They were supposed to be spontaneous dem-

onstrations of people against the war and our intervention in the war. They were solidly proposed and pushed forward by the Communist Party.

And then we dropped into, in that summer of 1940, another shocker, because these things were being worked primarily through the churches. That was a frightful thing to us, because here was this materialistic, conspiratorial, treasonable party pushing its work through the churches. In 1940 most of them were pretty gullible. We did it in this fashion. We would send a couple of our bright-eyed, young Communist leaders, (maybe a young man who was about conscription age) to the home of some prominent woman who also had a son of conscription age, and he would say to her (maybe he would have a young lady with him from the Communist Party), "Madam, don't you think this war is a dreadful thing? You don't want your son to die on foreign soil, do you?" Of course she didn't. Nobody did. "Well," he would say, "can't we have a little neighborhood meeting here and call in some of the people in this neighborhood and protest it? We can write letters to Congress; maybe we can delay America's entry into the war." So she'd consent. We saw that first set up in the north part of Columbus at the home of the wife of a professor of Ohio State University. We took our little meeting then into one of the larger northside churches and there we packed that meeting, and to that meeting we brought Communist Party members from all over town.

Party meetings were flexible. We'd move one pack of members into one church for this meeting — the whole body of Communists, as many as we could get. Maybe next week we would move them on down to another church and pack that meeting, so that you'd have Communists, as you learned from previous witnesses, helping in setting up their policy, who are well trained and disciplined. They know how to set the tone of the meeting, how to urge the resolutions, and how to outweigh and out-argue everybody else. Oh, you carry all the resolutions.

That went on all over town during the summer of 1940. We went along to our peace meetings. At the same time, of course, we were traveling around with our Workers' Alliance material. And there was another pitiable thing as we worked with the Negro people of Columbus. At that time we weren't too far off from the depression, and jobs were pretty scarce. To Ed, and to myself, it was a dismal thing to go out into these sections with leaflets that read "3,000 Jobs." Of course, everybody got all stirred up and came over to our party meetings of the Workers' Alliance. What did we have to promise them? Nothing but revolution and the "peace" to follow.

Q. You mean to say that you distributed pamphlets stating that 3,000 jobs were available?

A. Yes. I have no samples of those. I think we have given them to various committees, but that was the sort of thing that broke our hearts, carrying these things around to people who were searching for jobs. They would show up for our meetings and here we would have the leaders from the Communist Party give them a story of revolution, rather than jobs that weren't actually there. They talked about jobs that

were out in the future — that is, if they were revolutionary enough.

Let's get back to the peace meetings in August of 1940. They gathered all "spontaneous" peace groups from every end of town into a great, big mass meeting at Central High School. That was one of the larger downtown high schools in Columbus. And there we had, I should say, about five or six hundred people. The speakers to that meeting we, the Communists (we were not yet in the party, but we were close enough to say "we, the Communists") had picked.

Ed and I were working under Communist discipline at the time and being groomed for Communist Party membership. We managed to entrap as speakers to that meeting the Dean of Women of Ohio State University, an Ohio Congressman, who later denied that, when we testified in Washington. Of course, he may have had a busy schedule and quite forgotten about it five or ten years later. I was one of the speakers, and I represented the Workers' Alliance of America, one of the known Communist front organizations.

So this thing ("Peace Crusade") eventually — over Labor Day week-end of 1940 — culminated in the American People's Emergency Peace Mobilization, which was later known as the American People's Mobilization in Chicago. We met in the Chicago Auditorium. I might point out that the Communist Party in those days — and I have seen it in these days, too, because they have more of the intellectuals in the party — met in the very best places. We met in the "Ys," we met in the churches, we met, for example, in the Cleveland Auditorium. In Chicago we met in the Chicago Auditorium. And for that meeting — the Emergency Peace organization meeting to protest conscription, and to throw every effort against American aid in the war — we had perhaps twenty-three thousand people. That was the estimated crowd. They had Representative Vito Marcantonio there who harangued the crowd. We had Paul Robeson, who sang to them. And there for the first time, I think, I saw Communist Party women assume the role of screamers, such as the kids who scream now for the current popular favorites.

At that meeting were top Communist Party leaders in the country, and some of the others who went were awfully close fellow travelers. It was there that we met for the first time a young man whom I heard referred to yesterday, Don West. Only we knew him as the Reverend Don West from Bethel, Ohio. And a speaker, too, was the Reverend Jack McMichael, who has a most impressive list of Communist front activities and organizations to his discredit. But Don West was introduced to us as a comrade. We later went to see him in Bethel, Ohio and I — before I get off that subject, maybe I can give you a little of his background.

The Reverend Don West at that time had a church in Bethel, Ohio of probably, oh, three or four hundred people. A Communist Party minister! That is not a man of God who switched over to the materialistic side. That young man, I would say, was a party member, who, like many ministers have been sent to theological school by the party for the express purpose of preaching the doctrine of the Communist Party under the cloak of religion. That happens very often.

Q. You think it is a frequent occurrence? The party takes advantage of that by educating their own members to be ministers?

A. I would venture an opinion on that. We have heard it in so many instances from party leaders. But I would venture an opinion that that is true.

Q. Mr. West was non-denominational, I believe you said?

A. I don't recall his denomination, it was one of the smaller denominations. He had down there in the vicinity of Bethel, which was out a ways from Cincinnati, about seven missions. On the occasion after this conference (when we were actually party members) that we went down to see him, he explained to us that he had in his various missions Boy Scout troops. He hoped to bring these youngsters up in the Y.C.L. — the Young Communist League. How depraved can you get?

At the Chicago meeting, the news came over from Steve Grattan, who had remained in Columbus, about this investigation of the party petition to get the candidates on the ballot. Word came to us that warrants had been issued for our arrest, and we were to return immediately to Columbus.

Now, previous to that Chicago meeting, we had been ordered by the party to take with us the party organizer of the Y.C.L., Jack Perloff and his wife, Ruth, and two young Negro girls. Although they were divorcees, they were quite young. It was their first trip, I would say, out of Columbus. Their families had just been too poor for them to travel around much, so this was a big trip for them. One was a party member, the other, her friend, whom she had met on a W. P. A. project, was not yet a party member. The party member was Lula Mae Leigh. The other was Ruth Townsend, who was not yet a party member.

That was another unfortunate thing that Ed and I ran into in party work. We had always accorded to every race of people the dignity to which they were entitled as human beings. We had none of the false pretense of "pawing around" over other races that were in the Communist Party that so exasperated us. We like people because they are people, not because of their race or anything else. So, within the party we found very often that some of the Negro people would go along with us. It was quite pitiable to us to appear to be on the Communist side and see these people come along with us, just from sheer personal liking. That was the case with young Betty Townsend—no, Ruth Townsend (her daughter, Betty, remained at home).

We were assigned to take these two Negro girls and the "noise organizer" and his wife with us in our car. We had a large, old seven-passenger Pierce-Arrow at the time. This was 1940, and our car was large and would accommodate six people. We were told by Steve — and were briefed by Jack Perloff—that all the way across to Chicago we would create incidents in attempting to get these two Negro girls into restaurants — white restaurants — along the way to see if they would be served, and if they were not, to create a noise about it. Then we were told to stick with the girls and see (since Ruth Townsend was not yet a party member) that discipline was maintained, that they (the Communists) didn't worry about the proper party pattern on the

mission.

The meeting in Chicago was not only the American People's Mobilization meeting, it tied into — just a couple of days before — a national meeting of the Workers' Alliance of America. So we all set out on a safari across to Chicago, which is about three hundred miles— or three-fifty — from Columbus. And we did create incidents on the way across. We would march boldly, all of us, into a restaurant. The girls were abashed about it. They didn't want any part of this thing. They just wanted to have a good time — the first time they were away from home. They didn't like it, and they'd protest to Jack Perloff, "Look, Jack, we don't want to make any trouble." But Jack would march them right into the restaurants, sit them down, and when they weren't served, he'd start declaiming about the capitalists, Chauvinism — the same old routine.

We got to Chicago. They were still protesting. They still wanted a holiday. They didn't want any of this fussing around about it. We got to Chicago, and since we were told to keep the crowd together, both black and white, we attempted to find quarters. We found that none of the white hotels would take us all in. So we started on the Negro hotels on the west side of Chicago. We found one, a very neat hotel, where they would accept us. They didn't want to very much. They didn't like the looks of the thing, but they accepted us all, and we were registered there. I think the girls got the desk clerk aside and explained that we were supposed to all stay together. We were treated very politely, but with reservation, during the week that we stayed there.

We stayed there an entire week, the whole group of us. Well, this thing (the petitions) had broken back in Ohio at the same time. We heard that we were going to be — that I was going to be — arrested the minute I got back to Ohio. Steve issued his orders to us to return to Ohio. Ed and I happened to be the "fair-haired kids" for Steve on that occasion, because we did go back and we took our two Negro girls back with us. We were commended for having followed discipline. Perloff and his wife strayed off and had their own holiday afterward. They didn't come back with us. They went off with some white friends and "deviated."

So, we went back and were commended highly for having come back upon party orders, although we were not party members yet. Well, the warrants were served and, I would say, on or about the same day, Steve and the party organizer, Joseph Socoloff (he was a — I have forgotten whether he was a student or a graduate from Ohio State University at the time — I think he had finished Ohio State) — Steve and Socoloff came out to our house. They had the courtesy to call us before they came out (we shoved about thirty pages of Bureau reports under the front room rug before they got there), and they had an offer to make us. Steve said, "You people have proven your worth to the Communist Party. You have proven that you are not afraid. We believe that you have nothing to lose."

Of course, by this time, because of our picketing and so on, most of our friends had abandoned us. There were just a few members of

our family who knew what we were up to, and the rest of them didn't have anything to do with us, because it looked like we were going right down the line with the Commies. And we had been obliged to give up our jobs. We didn't want to embarrass people, clients of the newspaper I was working for. So we quit our jobs, and we told Steve we had been fired because of our association with him. So Steve said, "You no longer have anything to lose. Why don't you become actual members of the Communist Party?" And Ed — I remember to this day — said, "Steve, old boy, I think we've got everything to gain by joining the Communist Party. We'd be glad to be members." And so we were inducted into the Communist Party by Steve and by Joe.

Q. What year was that?

A. That was in the fall following the Labor Day convention. 1940. We were made actual party members. On that occasion, nobody lit any candles or read from any good book or anything of the sort, but it was a solemn thing. We took a pledge. And when anybody gets up before any committee and says, "I didn't know what I was doing when I joined the Communist Party" — I hope that nobody is ever confused by that, because you do know what you are doing. We took the pledge to defend the Soviet against her aggressors, wheresoever and whensoever they were found. Nothing in there states defend America, or the Communist Party of America — but defend the Soviet International. That was the pledge we took. Every Communist Party member takes it.

We did not spend — the seven of us whom they arrested — any time in jail. The Communist Party was always able to raise great sums of money for bail. None of us set a foot inside the Franklin County jail. The Communist Party is always able to round up an attorney who will defend you. In this case, they rounded up an American Civil Liberties Union attorney from Cleveland, Russell Chase. I don't know whether his name has come up in anything or not, but he has a nice long list of Communist apparatus groups. We didn't know him as a Communist Party member, but he was defending the seven of us who were arrested for the Communist Party. Our bail was arranged immediately.

Of course, we no longer had jobs and along with this arrest, the Bureau told us that during the fall we would be obliged to go to the Cincinnati area and work there, because a lot of large war contracts were vested in Cincinnati industry. It was a more important town than Columbus. And, of course, by the fall of 1940 we had pretty well ferreted out all of the Communist Party members in Columbus.

Well, we were assigned to Cincinnati. We had to have an excuse for going down to Cincinnati. Now, in the Communist Party, because of its discipline, you don't arbitrarily move around from town to town. You get a release from the party with full approval. Because of this discipline, you wouldn't even move from street to street, unless your party organizer told you it was OK. We had to get released from the Columbus party.

We had just the best "excuse" in the world. Following those arrests and the publicity over them, we couldn't get jobs anywhere. So, we

told our party secretary, "Look, we can go down to my mother's place," (my folks lived at Waynesville, where we are presently living), "and we can commute to Cincinnati and attempt to get jobs in the war plants there." At that time the Communist Party members — no matter what their background had been, even if it were completely white collar work — were assigned to get into industries. If a party member could talk to enough people, and they needed them to sabotage or "slow down," you would have party members in there, in every industry. It didn't matter what you had done in the past, you were told to go get jobs in war industries. Steve released us (from the Columbus party). We told him that we could find a place to live with my mother — at my mother's place — and commute to Cincinnati. So he turned us over to the Communist Party secretary in Cincinnati, Robert Gunkle. OHIO

In Cincinnati we began receiving our first lessons from Gunkle in dialectic materialism and historical materialism. You study very hard for the Communist Party. At least newcomers like ourselves did. Gunkle took us under his own wing. We got around the town considerably within the party. I had become a celebrity — I had fame of a doubtful sort, having been a martyr for the party. Our indictments came up later that fall, I think it was in November. We had already moved down to Cincinnati and were called back by the Grand Jury.

Q. Do you care to tell the Committee what you are referring to (reading)— I presume to refresh your memory?

A. Oh, I am referring to a copy of our daily reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Q. In other words, those are copies of the reports that you made at the time that this was going on?

A. Yes. We inadvertently kept a batch of copies of these reports. Didn't know we had them until ten years later, when we testified in Washington. But they have been helpful, and they were admitted into our testimony in Washington. They were reports made at that time, 1940. And, as an amusing sidelight, most of them were made on the Communist Party's secretary's typewriter in Cincinnati, which we borrowed for that purpose. We said we were doing some free lance writing. That's our excuse for having the typewriter. In Cincinnati (I'm trying to find the date — I should remember) in November of that year we were called before the Grand Jury. There were seven of us who were indicted.

OHIO Now, all of those other people — just before this hearing took place, Ralph Bartlett, the prosecutor, who had known Ed's family and mine for a great many years, called us up and got together with us. He wanted to know what we were doing "fooling around with these subversives." Of course, we told him whose side we were on, and that put a different light on the indictments. All seven of us were released. In my case, of course, I told the absolute truth, and no one knew in the Communist Party. They just knew we were indicted. We were fined, I think, $100 on each count of falsification and, it seems to me, a year in jail. All of those were suspended. In my case, mine was secretly **nolle prossed**, and that remained in the prosecutor's safe until, I believe, in 1952 when we testified before the Ohio State group.

We were all, of course, released and we went back to Cincinnati to resume our work with Bob Gunkle down there. Ed was assigned mostly to the labor union group. And I was assigned to the youth groups — I always like to point out that I was one of the "elderly" youths. This was quite a party joke, that there were some of us "older youths" who were in there to direct the young Communists in proper revolutionary tactics. We were trusted party members and, of course, this fame of mine in being a martyr had spread throughout the party, and it made it easier for us to get around. Normally it was very difficult for an undercover operative or any party member to get to other groups of the party. The party likes to remain in a cell system, where you have four people in a group with their party leader. Over here we have another four and their party leader. Well, theoretically, the people in this group are not supposed to know who the others are. Joe might live next door to this boy and they borrow lawnmowers, yet each is not supposed to know that the other is a party member. These are little units — little close units. I think they have gone down to something like three to a unit now, so that they can meet in party members' cars.

Q. That's what they describe as a cell?

A. That is a cell or unit. Above that is a branch, where those leaders will meet, then section, and then division, which would take in a whole state perhaps. Well, normally it's pretty hard for a person to jump from one to another. But, of course, the party being small, very often they have to take a talent from this group and one from there and put them on a party assignment. That's the way you get around. And then, too, you will meet in closed party meetings.

As Bureau employees, we were not to incite or to commit any subversive act ourselves, and it took some pretty tall dodging not to do any of those things, but we did it. We just managed to "flub it up" all the time, and something logical would happen. We did not try to go outside and pull people into the party. Whenever anyone entered the party because of us, it was completely inadvertent. We were not to incite any strikes or commit any subversive act, because that would be creating a provocative incident, which would be rather ridiculous. Our point was to be observers.

So we sat "at the feet" of Mr. Gunkle and absorbed all of the literature that we could and followed through meekly all the assignments, such as passing out literature. In fact, we volunteered for a lot of that, and that kept us pretty busy. We didn't have to go out organizing. And whenever we had a job here or there, if the pressure was put on us by the party to organize within that particular organization, we would always quit and say we'd been fired because "somebody suspected our affiliation with you people." Now, I want to explain to the Committee that we lived on expenses which the Bureau gave us during that time, and, occasionally, we would have a fair job where we would — well, for example, if we had a convention coming up, we had to have funds to go to that convention.

Q. Did the party pay you anything?

A. The party does not pay any of its workers. It takes from them, even from the poorest. If you were unemployed in those days they took a

nickle or a dime, if you could scrape it up. And then you are always handing out for party literature. I think at that time the dues were about 10%, if you were employed, that you paid into the party. It was in the nature of a tithe, such as you would tithe to your church. There has been a lot of misconception about money pouring into the party from Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, in our day, and I assume it is still true, we paid international dues, subtracted a fourth out of every dollar, and the money was all shoveled over to New York, to party headquarters there. A fourth was deducted and sent to the Soviet to support the party there, or any other party — which means, of course, that the Soviets had this immense spy system here which not only didn't pay its way, but we paid them dividends. In our case, unfortunately, we had to pay our dues occasionally from our F. B. I. expense money. That was quite a "joke."

This is the first time that Ed and I, as a team, have been separated for any testimony; I'll try to give you some of his work, too. They are combined reports. Occasionally we would split up, but they are mostly combined reports. Ed, I said, was assigned to the labor unions primarily.

People wonder how an organization as small as the Communist Party can do as much damage as it does. Well, the Communist Party likes to keep its organization small, as you probably heard from previous witnesses. They are stripped right down to their fighting number right now. I think John Edgar Hoover says there are something like 25,000 of them. You wonder how they can do as much damage as they do to 165 million Americans? One of Ed's best examples of that occurred with the William Powell Valve Company strike — in Cincinnati. At that time the party had many captive labor unions. Ed had been assigned to go in there and try to get a job. And, of course, he "loused" up his application form so that, with all of his degrees and what not, nobody would give him a job as a laborer. Having failed in that, he was assigned as publicity director of the William Powell Valve strike. I think that was sometime in the winter of '40 or '41. I have forgotten the exact date. It's down in here some place. He was then assigned by the labor union of the William Powell Valve Company — it employed about eight or nine hundred people — to do their union publicity assigned by the Communist Party, which was directing that strike through its members in the union. In that particular instance three — no more than three — of our comrades in Cincinnati, and not very high-powered boys either, but well trained ones, had been sent into that plant. Within three weeks' time, knowing how to create dissension and how to do some rabble-rousing, they had all eight or nine hundred of these employees out on the street demonstrating as violently as the Cincinnati police would allow them. That's how a few can do so much damage. Ed saw that working out.

My assignment with the youth organizations proved to be quite interesting. We would start whooping it up for "peace," of course. I was assigned out of Cincinnati to a little town with the Yellow Springs group at Antioch College, Antioch College at Yellow Springs, I should say. I worked with those students over there on organizing youth conferences and the various "peace" groups. I think one of the most

blatant attempts to slow down conscription and American aid to Europe came in April of that year when we planned the American — the Southern Ohio Youth Conference, which is affiliated with the American Youth Congress. We got together — the Cincinnati representatives, Antioch College workers, and Dayton representatives — at C. I. O. Headquarters in Dayton and plotted our panel for that particular meeting, which was to be held at Wilberforce College, a nice little Negro college in Ohio. It's been in existence since Lincoln's time. Therefore, it's a very ancient college. It's always been well thought of.

Wilberforce College in those days had, as far as we knew, not a single Communist Party member, although they were constantly under attack by Antioch College — the students — the Communist Party students from Antioch. They were constantly beating at their doors trying to agitate them. And those nice kids over there just weren't having any. It is a peculiar thing how little good they did with those students over there. But on this occasion the Communist Party, working through the Southern Ohio Youth Conference, was able to hire the hall at Wilberforce.

And so we met — a group of us at C.I.O. Headquarters in Dayton— and laid out our plot. What we were up to was to set up a deal whereby we would solicit letters from conscriptees — people who were known to the Communist Party — asking for gripes about conditions of the Army camps. Many of the camps were set up in the south. And, of course, all the "bugs" weren't ironed out of the camps yet. They were going to ask for gripes from these kids. These letters would complain about the prevalence of diseases — of veneral diseases, and so on down the line. They would come back to the parents and to teachers and to ministers. Perhaps even to their Congressmen. But what we wanted to solicit was a whole stream of these letters—as our part in protesting conscription. We set up a panel there at Dayton and later had a meeting on April the 19th, I believe it was.

This report is dated April the 2nd. We didn't have anything very revealing in this. This is the report on the estimate of the members or persons who might go from Cincinnati (from one of our members — our Communist Party members). He sent a car from a Negro fraternity at the University of Cincinnati — about five members. Then we had five delegates from an extension farm. Then we had delegates from the United Office and Professional Workers Union — C.I.O., two from the Andrews Rolling Mills, two from the American Communications Association. And then there were members of the Workers' Alliance, possibly two delegates, and the Negro Y.M.C.A. And that's our list of delegates. We also had students and union people coming from Cincinnati to this little huddle over at Wilberforce.

First, we went ahead and had our two or three day meeting over there with speakers from all over the country. Now, six young men who were opposed to conscription so bitterly — shortly after the Communists switched the party line later on that summer in 1941, when Russia was invaded, every one of them entered the armed forces, these six who were so opposed to conscription. All of them became officers in the armed forces, which was one of the ironic little facts out of this

huddle over at Wilberforce.

Q. Were they white or colored?

A. Well, these were white boys that I am referring to. We had very few colored people actually at that convention there.

Q. Those delegates that you are speaking of, I notice that some were college students.

A. Yes, we had quite a few, but they were not from that university (Wilberforce) over there. And not to my recollection from the Communist Party, but they were entrapped into it.

Q. What time of the year was this?

A. That was in April.

Q. April of 1941?

A. It was held on April 19th and 20th of 1941, prior to Russia's invasion by Germany.

Q. That's what happened in July, maybe. Is that right — or June?

A. I believe that was June 21st.

SENATOR RAINACH: We will have a recess for ten minutes and resume at 10:20.

RECESS

SENATOR RAINACH: The hearing will resume, and Counsel will proceed with examination of the witness.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Mrs. Edmiston, I believe you had just finished with your statement as to conditions in the meeting at Wilberforce — is that right — Wilberforce College in 1941?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you pick up there and then tell us — summarize the other of your experiences while working for the F.B.I. in the party?

A. Following the Wilberforce Conference, of course, we left off at the invasion of Russia in June of that year. The whole party slogan, all the party slogans, changed — not the party line to attempt the overthrow of our democratic government, but the slogans, because Russia, the "Motherland," had been invaded. About July we started talking about my attending the American Youth Congress at Philadelphia on July 4th and 5th of 1941. I will give you some parts from the reports that I made on that convention. At the top I have headed: "Note: I was not elected as a delegate to the A.Y.C. Philadelphia Convention, however, I attended as a delegate. I had decided to attend the convention after a talk with John Moore-Stevens, who was with the Y.C.L. in the office of T. J. Majors, field workers' organizing committee, regional director on June 24th." OHIO

Now, my credentials to that — I had none as a matter of fact. But I was directed by the party to attend as a delegate for the Workers' Alliance. By this time we had abandoned our work with the Workers' Alliance. We had gone to several meetings in Cincinnati, but because of my assignment to the youth group, I dropped most of that work. At the convention of the American Youth Congress at Philadelphia there was to be presented the first change of line to this group of youth. In our car of young people who went over were: John Moore, Communist Party member, Y.C.L. secretary, Cincinnati Secretary of } OHIO Pa

the Youth Council, member of the Office and Professional Workers' Union, and American Peace Mobilization and all the other organizations; Leonard Brooks, a Communist Party member from Cincinnati (he was a student at the University of Cincinnati); a Jean Pilder; and a young man named Lee Lorch.

I want to talk particularly about Lee Lorch. You can follow his example — bring it right up to date, I believe. Lee Lorch was then doing graduate work at the University of Cincinnati in mathematics. He was a member of the Teachers Union. We did not know how important he was in the Communist Party, nor did we know until we attended that convention. Lee was in the car of us who went to the convention at Philadelphia. I learned from Lee Lorch that he had been assigned for the most part to oversee the youth group. He was going to be the courier who would carry the party line that would be preached in Philadelphia at that Youth Congress. I think there were probably 1500, or perhaps closer to 2000 young people who attended that. Lee Lorch and his career have been followed very closely in the last few years. Lee was out of New York originally. He attained his Doctor's Degree at the University of Cincinnati.

I lost track of him, of course, after we left the Communist Party (we were kicked out of the party under suspicion in late 1941), but in 1963 I picked up the trail again from some people from Nashville, Tennessee, who had told me about the radical elements working in Nashville that seemed to emanate from Fisk College. They brought a program of the speakers to me. They knew that we had been engaged in Communist Party work. They brought a program to me and here, of all people, was this young man who had attended the conference with us and whom I knew to be a top-ranking Communist Party member and courier. Lee Lorch was then heading the mathematics department at Fisk University, a Negro college in Nashville. So he has carried right on with his work, apparently, through the years.

Q. Let me ask you, if you don't mind, in recent years, about two years ago, as a matter of fact, shortly after the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation case, there were some articles in the paper about a professor — a white professor at Fisk University demanding entrance for his white children into a Negro school.

A. That's right. Lorch was the man who demanded that his child, Alice, be admitted to the — I believe it was the Pearl Street School, which was—I don't have the clipping with me. I'm sorry I can't present that as an exhibit. In that article Lee and a Professor Robert Renfer, who had been at Yellow Springs, a white teacher, and his wife were attempting to enter their children. And Lee and his wife were attempting to enter their child in this Negro school. Lee said that his child had had no white companionship and he thought she should be permitted to enter the Negro school, which was a complete "switcheroo." It was another form of agitation from that source which we had seen previously. So I began putting the pieces together, and the people whom I knew from Nashville said that they were quite interested in what they thought were radical speakers who had been invited down to Fisk University.

Q. Now, let me ask you before we go into that, ask you again. This is the same Lee Lorch who you say was known to you as a Communist and a Communist courier, is that right?

A. Yes, that's right. The same Lee Lorch with whom our group had been associated in the week that we spent, or almost a week, in Philadelphia, and who had taken me — you see, having been a martyr, he was parading me before the top-flight Communists in Philadelphia, and many of those were very well-to-do Negro members of the Communist Party.

Q. Now, I want to ask you something else. Has Lee Lorch ever to your knowledge renounced the Communist Party either publicly or privately?

A. No, he took the first and fifth amendments. He was asked to take only the fifth at the Dayton hearings in 1954, but he insisted on the first and fifth amendments all the way through. He refused to answer any of the questions and refused to recognize me as having been on that Philadelphia trip.

Q. Will you proceed — you were speaking of Professor Renfer, I think?

A. Professor Renfer I do not know, nor could I name him as a Communist Party member. He was—

Q. Wait a minute, how is that name spelled?

A. I did have a catalog here, R-e-n-f-e-r, you see he's listed in the catalog as being in the mathematics department.

Q. That is Fisk University department of mathematics?

A. Yes. That's Fisk University.

Q. And you are referring to a school catalog of Fisk University. Is that right?

A. Yes, that's right.

Q. Would you state for the record whether or not that is a Negro university located in Nashville, Tennessee?

A. To the best of my knowledge, it is. I have never been there. But to the best of my knowledge, it is. Renfer, I don't recall, as I say, I could not name him as a party member. Lee Lorch I most certainly could identify as a Communist member. According to his own admission he ranked high in the party as a courier, and it's obvious that he has had positions of importance in the party. Going back to Yellow Springs—

Q. Before we do that — one more thing. Is he still, as far as you know, head of the mathematics department at Fisk University?

A. I don't know what happened to him after the Dayton hearings in '54, whether he was dismissed from there or not. In the newspaper clipping that we were talking about before, it named Lee Lorch as Secretary to the Tennessee chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. Now that, of course, I cannot say. It's only on hearsay from the newspaper reports. Now, the speakers we talked about that had been on the list of speakers at Fisk—Scott Nearing, I think that's a name that has come up a great many times. Jerome Davis. I think perhaps the Committee is familiar with his Behind Soviet Power. We had picked up a copy of this in 1950. We sort of slipped into a meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action up at Wilberforce, where Jack McMichael showed up again in 1950. And we picked up one of these things that was sold quite widely among the people who were there for that meeting.

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Q. The Methodist Federation for Social Action has been identified, has it not, at prior hearings of committees?

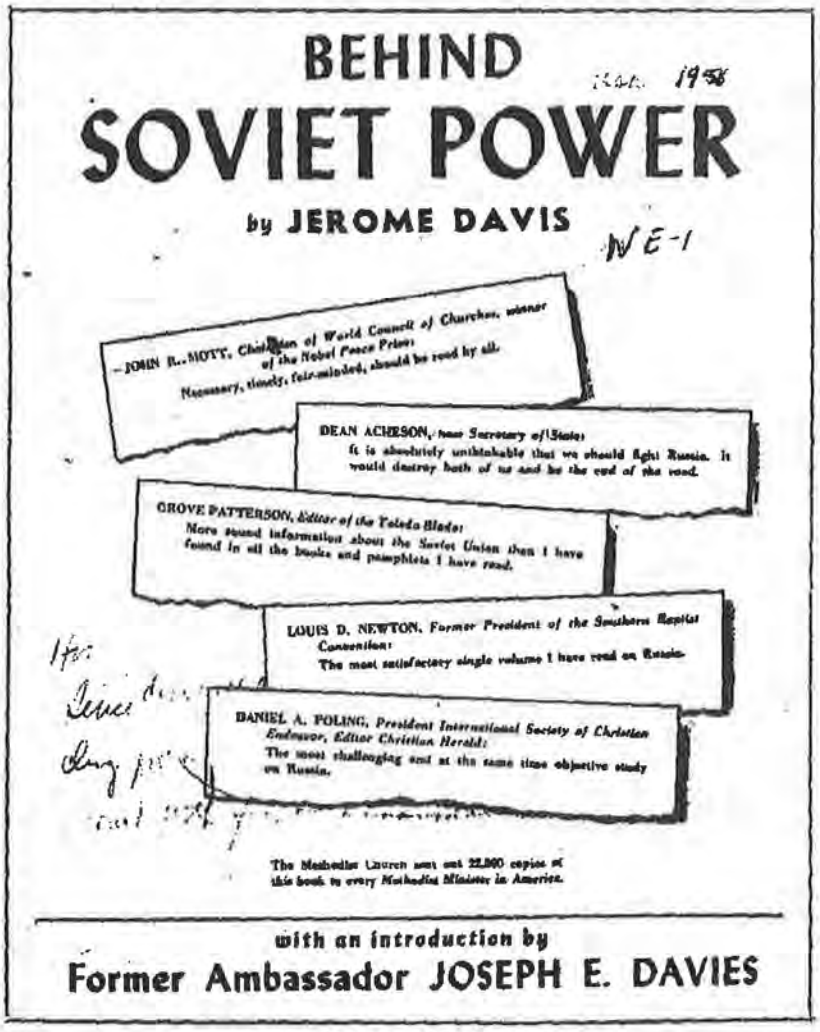
A. I believe it has. Yes, it's been identified quite widely. We had no connection with it during the time we were in the party.

Q. Would you care to offer Jerome Davis' **Behind Soviet Power** in evidence, Mrs. Edmiston?

A. Yes, I think that probably should be offered.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked WE-1 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders the exhibit marked WE-1 and made a part of the records of this Committee.



(Exhibit WE-1)

A. I do not know whether the Committee has the front records of Scott Nearing. I have them here. They are not from my own knowledge. But they have been compiled. Jerome Davis, Donald L. West (that was before he adopted the title "reverend") and here is a dossier on Lee Lorch for your records — he is spending a great deal of time in the southland, if it would be of any—

MR. SHAW: Thanks very much.

A. He is this young man (in this photograph) who is standing close to the clerk of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This was taken when I appeared at the hearings in Dayton.

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. The picture that you are now passing — you have passed me a picture. I ask you if the young man on the right is the one you identified as Lee Lorch?

A. On the right, yes.

Q. I am going to place a mark by — on his shirt, **Figure 1**, and put 1 on the back to identify 1 as Lee Lorch.

A. That's right. The other is someone of the House Committee. I believe it's the Clerk.

Q. If you don't mind, I'd like to offer these exhibits for evidence right now. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence the exhibits just discussed and ask that they be marked WE-2, WE-3, WE-4, WE-5, WE-6 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that exhibits marked WE-2, WE-3, WE-4, WE-5 and WE-6 be made a part of the record of this Committee. **(See Pages 236, 237, 238, 239 for Exhibit WE-2, Pages 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245 for Exhibit WE-3, Page 246 for Exhibit WE-4, Page 247 for Exhibit WE-5, and Page 248 for Exhibit WE-6.)**

BY MR. SHAW:

Q. Will you proceed?

A. Let's swing back over to Antioch again—

Q. Before we leave that point, these people whose front records have just been introduced in evidence, Scott Nearing, Jerome Davis, Donald West and Lee Lorch. How are they indentified with Fisk University?

A. As to Donald West, I dont know. Scott Nearing and Jerome Davis were listed in the programs as lecturers at Fisk University.

Q. Were they in the catalog?

A. In the catalog and on the program that I saw, which I do not have. Don West should have been included earlier, I think. As to whether he had lectured there, I don't know.

Q. You are not identifying him as being connected with Fisk?

A. No. I would have no knowledge of that.

Q. You have identified Lee Lorch as being connected with Fisk University?

A. With the mathematics department.

Q. And Scott Nearing and Jerome Davis?

A. Getting back to Antioch College, I didn't bring out the names of the people — I think many of them have been had up before the various committees since. Incidentally, in Antioch in '47 was founded the first unit of the United States National Student Association. Now, that is after my "time," but I do have this which you might want for

February 24, 1957

Scott Nearing

(1) All-America Anti-Imperialist League -- member of national committee -- letterhead, April 11, 1928

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- letterhead, October 22, 1951

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter to President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization -- pamphlet, October 28, 1952

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- endorser of statement defending ACPFB -- Daily Worker, July 8, 1953, page 8

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter for repeal of Walter-McCarran Act -- Daily Worker, January 14, 1954, page 6

(6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- booklet, September 1954

(7) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of national legislative conference -- call and program, March 27, 1955

(8) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of petition to Eisenhower on the McCarran-Walter Act -- Daily Worker, July 23, 1956, page 7

(9) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- call to 24th annual national conference, December 8-9, 1956

(10) American Committee for Struggle Against War -- member of American Committee -- letterhead, June 3, 1933

(11) American Continental Congress for World Peace -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, July 29, 1949, page 5

(12) American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) -- member of board of directors -- Appendix IX, page 384

(13) American Peace Crusade -- initial sponsor of national peace referendum -- Daily Worker, August 21, 1952, page 6

(14) American Peace Crusade -- signer of open letter -- press release, December 4, 1952

(Exhibit WE-2a)

Scott Nearing -- 2

(15) American Peace Crusade -- signer of appeal -- Daily Worker, January 20, 1954, page 4

(16) Amsterdam World Congress Against War -- American delegate -- pamphlet, August 1932

(17) Appeal for Amnesty for the Jailed Leaders of the Communist Party Convicted Under the Smith Act -- signer -- Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4

(18) Bachrach Open Letter -- signer -- letter, September 19, 1955

(19) Bill of Rights Conference -- sponsor and panel member -- call and program, July 16-17, 1949

(20) Brief Amici Curiae for the Communist Party -- signer -- U. S. Supreme Court, October 1955

(21) City Terrace Cultural Center -- lecturer for -- National Guardian, January 3, 1955, page 8

(22) Committee to Defend Alexander Trachtenberg -- sponsor -- booklet, 1952

(23) Committee to End Sedition Laws -- signer of statement -- press release, November 19, 1955

(24) Committee for Free Political Advocacy -- sponsor -- press release, February 11, 1949

(25) Committee for Free Political Advocacy -- signer of statement -- Daily Worker, February 28, 1949, page 9

(26) Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of the Imprisioned Needle Trades Workers -- member -- letterhead, March 29, 1927

(27) Communist Party -- member of -- Appendix IX, page 310

(28) Communist Party -- candidate for governor of New Jersey -- results of general election, 1928

(29) Emergency Committee for Southern Political Prisoners -- sponsor -- letterhead, undated

(30) Eugene V. Debs Centennial Meeting -- sponsor -- leaflet, November 28, 1955

(31) F.O.N. Club -- speaker -- New Masses, March 5, 1935, page 2

(Exhibit WE-2b)

Scott Nearing -- 3

(32) Friends of the Soviet Union -- member of Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers -- letterhead, September 1929

(33) Friends of the Soviet Union -- endorser of -- Soviet Russia Today, December 1933, page 17

(34) Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union -- signer -- Soviet Russia Today, November 1937, page 79

(35) International Labor Defense -- name submitted as candidate for national committee of ILD at June 26, 1925, meeting of executive council of Communist Party -- Appendix IX page 819

(36) International Labor Defense -- national committee member -- letterhead, February 18, 1929

(37) International Workers Order -- defended IWO -- Daily Worker, June 18, 1951, page 8

(38) Jefferson School of Social Science -- signer of statement supporting right to teach Marxism -- press release, June 24, 1954

(39) John Reed Clubs -- signer of protest -- New York Times, May 19, 1930

(40) League of American Writers -- member, 1933 -- Appendix IX, page 968

(41) Liberator -- contributing editor -- Liberator, April 1924

(42) Mother Ella Reeve Bloor Banquet -- sponsor -- leaflet, January 24, 1936

(43) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts -- signer of open letter to Senator Hennings -- press release, November 14, 1955

(44) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims -- signer of telegram of birthday greetings to Eugene Dennis -- Daily Worker, August 11, 1952, page 3

(45) National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims -- appealed for amnesty -- leaflet, May 22, 1953

(46) National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans -- sponsor -- call and program, December 11-12, 1954

(Exhibit WE-2c)

Scott Nearing -- 4

(47) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- signer of open letter -- Daily Worker, August 6, 1952, page 3

(48) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor of Waldorf Conference -- official list, March 25, 1949

(49) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- signer of statement asking end to DuBois indictment -- Daily Worker, June 29, 1951, page 8

(50) National Student League -- signer of call for support of -- Daily Worker, September 28, 1932, page 2

(51) New Masses -- contributor -- New Masses, September 1927, page 28; January, February, and September 1928; February 1929; November 1932; January 2, January 16, February 27, May 22, June 26, September 11, 1934; December 15, 1936

(52) Open Letter to Eisenhower on Behalf of Morton Sobell -- signer -- Daily Worker, May 11, 1956, page 8

(53) Open Letter to President Truman on Germ Warfare -- signer of letter -- Daily Worker, June 6, 1952, page 8

(54) People's Peace -- member of advisory board -- letterhead, April 7, 1947

(55) Petition to Reconsider Prosecutions Under the Smith Act -- signer -- New York Times, August 8, 1955, page 9; Daily Worker, August 8, 1955, page 8

(56) Student Congress Against War -- speaker -- program, December 27-29, 1932

(57) World Peace Congress in Paris -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, April 18, 1949, page 2

(Exhibit WE-2d)

February 22, 1957

E. 241

Jerome Davis

(1) American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom -- signer of petition to discontinue the Dies Committee -- dated January 17, 1940

(2) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- supporter of Celler Bill -- Daily Worker, April 11, 1938, page 5

(3) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- member of advisory board -- letterhead, January 1940

(4) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor -- letterhead, March 2-3, 1940

(5) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- signer of open letter -- Worker, August 13, 1950, page 8

(6) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born -- sponsor of 20th anniversary national conference -- letterhead, October 22, 1951

(7) American Congress for Peace and Democracy -- endorser -- letterhead, December 7, 1938

(8) American Congress for Peace and Democracy -- delegate -- Daily Worker, January 6, 1939, page 2

(9) American Council on Soviet Relations -- member -- Daily Worker, July 23, 1938

(10) American Federation of Teachers -- president -- New Masses, June 21, 1938, page 17

(11) American Federation of Teachers, Local 5 -- speaker -- Daily Worker, March 26, 1938, page 4

(12) American Fund for Public Service -- edited books published by Vanguard Press -- Appendix IX, page 384

(13) American League for Peace and Democracy -- vice-chairman -- letterhead, February 8, 1939

(14) American League for Peace and Democracy -- member of national committee -- letterhead, May 18, 1939

(15) American League against War and Fascism -- contributor -- Fight, November 1936, page 8

(16) American Peace Crusade -- sponsor -- letterhead, May 26, 1951

(Exhibit WE-3a)

Jerome Davis -- 2

242

(17) American Pushkin Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead, 1940

(18) American Russian Institute, San Francisco -- statement in Friendship Book -- dated 1954, page 51

(19) American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia -- director -- leaflet, 1935

(20) American Student Union -- sponsor -- Student Advocate, February 1937, page 2

(21) American Youth Congress -- member of national advisory committee -- booklet, 1936, page 63

(22) American Youth Congress -- member of national advisory board -- leaflet, July 4, 1937

(23) American Youth Congress -- signer of call -- proceedings of congress, July 1-5, 1939

(24) Associated Blind -- sponsor -- letterhead, 1940

(25) Bill of Rights Conference -- sponsor -- call, July 16-17, 1949

(26) Boas Letter on France in Reply to Sedgwick -- signer -- Daily Worker, March 8, 1938, page 2

(27) Champion -- advisory editor -- Champion, October 1936, page 2

(28) Champion -- advisory editor -- Champion, December 1937-January 1938

(29) China Welfare Appeal -- sponsor -- letterhead, January 22, 1951

(30) Committee for a Boycott against Japanese Aggression -- signer of appeal -- Daily Worker, February 25, 1938, page 4

(31) Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War -- sponsor -- letterhead, August 10, 1940

(32) Committee of One Thousand -- signer -- Daily Worker, January 3, 1949, page 7

(33) Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of statement to President Truman -- press release, December 14, 1949

(Exhibit WE-3b)

Jerome Davis -- 3 243

(34) Commonwealth College -- member of national advisory committee -- letterhead, January 1, 1940

(35) Conference on Pan American Democracy -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 16, 1938

(36) Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of letter -- press release, July 7, 1949

(37) Consumers Union -- member of board of directors -- Consumers Union Reports, January 1938, page 31

(38) Consumers Union -- member of labor advisory committee -- letterhead, September 28, 1939

(39) Consumers Union -- sponsor -- folder, 1940

(40) Consumers Union -- member of national advisory committee -- letterhead, June 1, 1950

(41) Continuations Committee of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact -- signer of open letter -- dated August 21, 1949

(42) Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo -- representative individual -- official booklet, 1937

(43) Council for Pan-American Democracy -- sponsor -- letterhead, November 16, 1938

(44) Council for Pan-American Democracy -- member of executive committee -- letterhead, August 8, 1939

(45) Council for Pan-American Democracy -- member of executive committee -- letterhead, July 11, 1940

(46) Cultural Workers in Motion Pictures and Other Arts -- signer of brief -- U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1949

(47) Dubois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee -- sponsor -- program, February 23, 1951

(48) Far East Spotlight -- favored recognition of New China -- Far East Spotlight, December 1949-January 1950, page 25

(49) Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade -- sponsor -- Daily Worker, June 11, 1938, page 4

(50) Friends of the Soviet Union -- member of reception committee for Soviet flyers -- letterhead, September 1929

(Exhibit WE-3c)

Jerome Davis -- 4 244

(51) Galens Defense Committee -- member of national advisory committee -- letterhead

(52) International Committee for Political Prisoners -- general committee member -- letterhead, June 1936

(53) International Labor Defense -- signer of petition -- Daily Worker, March 19, 1938, page 2

(54) International Labor Defense -- sponsor of Christmas drive -- Equal Justice, November 1938, page 2

(55) Intourist, Inc. -- leader of seminar -- Intourist Bulletin, March 1, 1939, page 2

(56) Labor's Non-Partisan League -- Connecticut State chairman -- Daily Worker, March 14, 1938, page 5

(57) League of American Writers -- contributor -- booklet, March 1939

(58) League for Mutual Aid -- member of advisory committee -- letterhead, March 11, 1938

(59) Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy -- national sponsor -- letterhead, December 8, 1938

(60) Methodist Federation for Social Action -- signer of statement issued after annual meeting of MFSA in Kansas City -- dated December 27-29, 1947

(61) Mid-Century Conference for Peace -- sponsor -- call, May 29-30, 1950

(62) Mother Bloor Celebration Committee -- sponsor -- booklet

(63) National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act -- signer of petition -- dated June 22, 1951

(64) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor of conference -- leaflet, October 9-10, 1948

(65) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor of Waldorf Conference -- leaflet, March 25-27, 1949

(66) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- signer of ad -- St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 20, 1951

(Exhibit WE-3d)

Jerome Davis -- 5 215

(67) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- signer of statement asking end to Dubois indictment -- Daily Worker, June 29, 1951, page 5

(68) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- endorsed resolution -- Daily Worker, June 2, 1952, page 3

(69) National Council of American-Soviet Friendship -- speaker -- program, June 23, 1948

(70) National Emergency Conference -- sponsor -- program, May 13-14, 1939

(71) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights -- sponsor -- letterhead, February 15, 1940

(72) National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights -- signer of open letter on the Dies Committee -- Daily Worker, May 13, 1940, pages 1, 5

(73) National Negro Congress -- speaker -- program, October 15-17, 1937

(74) New Masses -- contributor -- New Masses, June 21, 1938, page 17

(75) New York Peace Institute -- speaker at rally -- Daily Worker, August 20, 1952, pages 3, 8

(76) New York Tom Mooney Committee -- sponsor -- letterhead June 5, 1939

(77) Open Letter to American Liberals -- signer -- Soviet Russia Today, March 1937, pages 14-15

(78) Open Letter to the President of Brazil to Save Luiz Carlos Prestes -- signer -- New Masses, December 3, 1940, page 28

(79) Peace Information Center -- endorser of world peace appeal -- leaflet, August 31, 1950

(80) People's Congress for Democracy and Peace -- endorser -- letterhead, November 3, 1937

(81) People's Lobby -- council member -- letterhead, April 1949

(82) Philadelphia Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- speaker -- Worker, February 8, 1953, page 15

(Exhibit WE-3e)

Jerome Davis -- 6 246

(83) Protestant -- editorial advisor -- Protestant, June-July 1942

(84) Protestant -- editorial advisor -- Protestant, October 1945

(85) Protestant -- editorial advisor -- Protestant, December-January 1946-47, page 1

(86) Protestant Digest -- member of editorial board -- letterhead, December 27, 1939

(87) Protestant Digest -- member of editorial advisory board -- letterhead, October 7, 1941

(88) Protestant Digest Associates -- sponsor of call to dinner-forum -- leaflet, January 22, 1941

(89) Russian Reconstruction Farms -- member of advisory board -- letterhead, March 20, 1926

(90) Social Work Today -- publicized his book -- Social Work Today, February 1937, page 29

(91) Soviet Russia Today -- contributor -- Soviet Russia Today, November 1936, page 19

(92) Soviet Russia Today -- contributor -- Soviet Russia Today, November 1938, page 38

(93) Soviet Russia Today -- sent letter to -- Soviet Russia Today, July 1947, page 3

(94) Soviet Russia Today -- contributor -- Soviet Russia Today, October 1940, page 3

(95) Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials -- signer -- New Masses, May 3, 1938, page 19

(96) Statement Condemning Congressional Investigations -- signer -- UE News, January 1, 1949, pages 6, 7

(97) Statement Supporting Dissenting Opinion of Black and Douglas Toward the Smith Act -- signer -- Masses & Mainstream, August 1951, page 18

(98) Work Camps for America -- speaker -- pamphlet, 1940

(99) Workers Library Publishers -- author -- Workers Library Catalog, 1938, page 39

(Exhibit WE-3f)

February 27, 1957

Donald L. West 247

(1) American Peace Mobilization -- endorser -- call to American People's Meeting, April 5-6, 1941

(2) Book Union -- contributor -- New Masses, October 1, 1935, back cover

(3) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense -- member of committee of sponsors -- booklet, August 1945

(4) Communist Party -- member -- House Committee Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1947, page 5

(5) Educators for Wallace -- member -- pamphlet, October 1948

(6) Mother Bloor Celebration Committee -- sent greetings -- booklet, undated

(7) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- sponsor of conference -- report of conference October 9-10, 1948

(8) National Federation for Constitutional Liberties -- signer of open letter asking the President to rescind Biddle decision on Harry Bridges -- booklet, July 11, 1942

(9) National Wallace for President Committee -- member -- press release, March 23, 1948

(10) New Masses -- contributor -- New Masses, April 10, June 5, and June 26, 1934; August 27, 1935; May 28, 1946

(11) Open Letter on Harry Bridges -- signer -- Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, page 4

(12) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- state director for Georgia -- letterhead, December 11, 1940

(13) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- sponsor and state director for Georgia -- letterhead, February 12, 1941

(14) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- field leader -- letterhead, April 9, 1942

(15) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- member of Southern Committee -- letterhead, January 1, 1948

(16) People's Institute of Applied Religion -- member of Southern Committee -- letterhead, April 16, 1953

(17) Pilot (Communist-controlled weekly of National Maritime Union) -- writer for -- Pilot, May 11, 1945, page 17

(18) Southern Conference for Human Welfare -- signer of manifesto -- Southern Patriot, June 1947, pages 4-5

(Exhibit WE-4)

February 26, 1957

249

Lee Lorch

(1) Committee to End Sedition Laws -- signer of statement -- press release, November 19, 1955

(2) Communist Party -- identified as a member of the Communist Party by John J. Edmiston, Martha Edmiston, and David H. Levison -- Hearings of House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1950, pages 2675 and 2820

(3) Communist Party -- in testifying before House Committee, refused on grounds of first and fifth amendments, excluding section relating to self-incrimination, to answer all questions relating to membership in the Communist Party -- 1954 annual report, p. 11

(4) National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions -- signer of statement asking end to DuBois indictment -- Daily Worker, June 29, 1951, page 8

(5) Southern Conference Educational Fund -- signer of letter protesting Congressional hearings on SCEF -- letter, June 10, 1954

(6) Town and Village Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town -- supporter of -- Daily Worker, October 31, 1949, page 2

(Exhibit WE-5)

your files, a composite Report of the United States National Student Association.

Q. What is the United States National Student Association?

A. Well, that is an association of students throughout the country. I don't know how it has been identified previously. I don't recall whether that came up yesterday or not.

Q. Is it a front organization to your knowledge?

A. To the best of my knowledge. As I say, it is since my time. To the best of my knowledge, it is one of the—

Q. You know it as such from hearsay and general—

A. Right.

Q. —impressions, you do not have personal knowledge of this?

A. I have no personal knowledge. We had students' associations in my day — students' unions which were infiltrated by Communist Party members.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence this composite report of the United States National Student Association, and ask that it be marked WE-7 for identification.

A. This should accompany it as the Minutes of the Eighth National Student Congress, Minneapolis.

MR. SHAW: And I also offer in evidence excerpts from the Minutes of the Eighth National Student Congress of the USNSA, August 21-31, 1955, and ask that it be marked WE-8 for identification.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that exhibits marked WE-7 and



(Exhibit WE-6)

WE-8 be made a part of the record of this Committee. **(See Pages 249, 250 for Exhibit WE-7 and Pages 251, 252, 253 for Exhibit WE-8.)**

A. I wanted to flash back a bit to Antioch College. I think so often there has been a misconception about the Communist Party. They are thought of an as out-at-the-elbow, ragged bunch of radicals. We found that we had well educated young people — people who might be your neighbor, might be anyone's son or daughter at college. At Yellow Springs, for example, one of the most vicious Communists that I knew and worked with there on various projects, now deceased, was the daughter of an Episcopal clergyman who was identified with a great many Communist front operative groups. Her name was Marcia Spofford. Marcia, during the time I was working with that youth group there, married a young man named Anthony Russell, who was also a student. "Tony" Russell showed up at the Dayton hearings in 1954. He was then heading the Vernay lab at Antioch College— which has had some rather important defense laboratory work to do. That's about the tenor of our young people in the Communist Party. Also at that

WITNESS: MARTHA NICHOLS EDMISTON

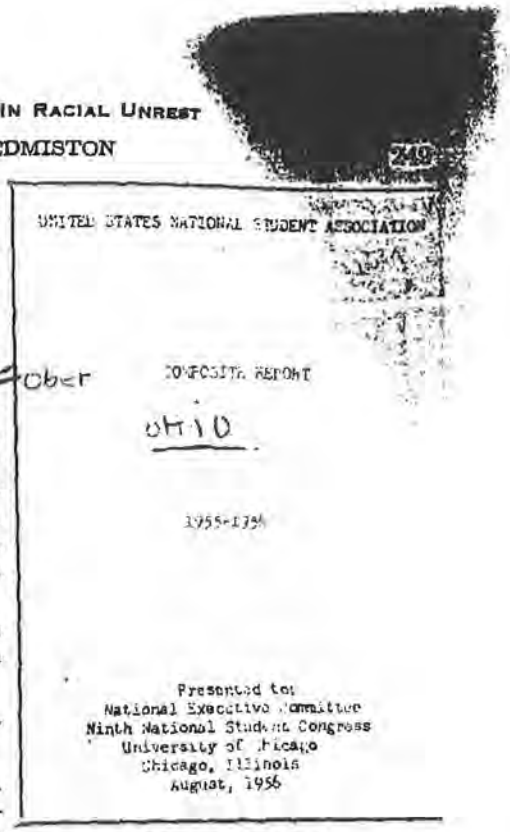
college when I worked with the group, was a young man who later became a Major in Military Intelligence. I used to see him at Patterson Field after we were out of the party—John "Jay" Ober and his wife, Bebe Iasilli. She had worked for CIO headquarters. John Ober and Bebe since have repented of their Communist affiliation; but at the time that John was in the Air Force, he was still a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Thank you very much. Have you anything further for the Committee?

A. I can think of nothing else.

Q. Pertinent to this hearing?

A. Not pertinent to this hearing. In case anyone is curious — in December, 1941, we were ejected from the Communist Party. They suspected us of being "spys and F.B.I. agents and enemies of the people."



UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

OHIO

1955-1956

Presented to:
National Executive Committee
Ninth National Student Congress
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois
August, 1956

(Exhibit WE-7a)

Appointment of Campus International Administrator
Projected testimony of International Affairs Vice President before Senate Immigration and Naturalization Committee

Major Problems in 1955-1956. The two major problems which arose in regard to press relations during the year were the Budenz column and the Southern Methodist-Baylor Universities. Both of these pointed up one basic weakness in the Association public relations program: lack of general understanding, even on member campuses, of the basic structure and purposes of USNSA.

Louis Budenz, in a column released to some thirty Catholic weeklies early in November, commented on a report on the 8th National Student Congress which appeared in the October issue of "Political Affairs", a magazine he referred to as "the official theoretical organ of the Communist Party" Budenz wrote:

> "The chief pride of the Soviet fifth column, as evidenced in this report, seems to be its success in influencing the thinking of the large non Communist organization, the National Student Association."

The balance of the column was sharply critical of the USNSA-sponsored Academic Freedom Week programs, the resolutions of the 8th Congress on Russian exchange and what Budenz interpreted as a request from USNSA to the Fund for the Republic for a study of the McCarran Act.

- 19 -

(Exhibit WE-7b)

Baylor University (Waco, Texas), wire the Association on April 6 for information needed by their NSA Evaluation Committee. The Student Congress at Baylor had voted unanimously to affiliate on March 22, but the vote was challenged by four law students who secured a temporary injunction pending further investigation. Southern Methodist University (Dallas, Texas) wrote on April 10 asking for information. A campus-wide referendum was scheduled at SMU for April 25. Similar questions were raised in both requests. This, along with reports from the University of Texas (USNSA member school) indicated that an organized anti-NSA campaign was being waged in Texas. Later information supported this and that the attack had off-campus support. Supported by full-page ads in the campus newspaper, and a flood of flyers and cards urging "Vote NO NSA", the SMU referendum failed (1,000 against affiliation, 500 for, on a campus of about 5,000). At Baylor, the affiliation was not completed. In the aftermath of the campus campaign, Texas dailies commented editorially on the vote; the Dallas News summed up what seemed to be the heart of the NSA opposition:

> "Word from the Southern Methodist University campus is that the students backed sound Americanism 100 per cent in their election held Wednesday. The proposal to affiliate with the United States National Student Association was rejected...

- 20 -

(Exhibit WE-7c)

The eruption of the Autherine Lucy incident at the University of Alabama necessitated immediate action by the Association. The USNSA member schools wanted a re-affirmation of USNSA principle through word and deed, the Student Government at the University of Alabama (non member) wanted to present its views, students overseas wanted an explanation, and extremists abroad wanted to exploit the issue for propaganda advantage. During the first week of tension on the Alabama campus, the National Office was twice in contact over the telephone with the Alabama Student Body President, Walt Flowers. The President of USNSA released a letter to all member campuses explaining the situation and reaffirming USNSA's belief in and efforts for desegregation. Releases with an accurate description of events were distributed to universities and colleges throughout the world. A special USNSA News Supplement called "Timetable for Tension" was distributed. Fortunately, at the time of the Lucy case, the immediate past President of USNSA, Harry Lunn, was visiting universities in Southeast Asia on an International Student Conference good will team. Harry spent February and March talking to thousands of Asian students who were deeply disturbed by this instance of student discrimination and disorder in the United States.

The 8th Congress had called for the USNSA to work for the holding of a Southern Schools Conference on Desegregation. The Staff laid detailed plans for the conference, which would be integrated and include student leaders, faculty and college administrators from southern schools only. The conference was to be managed by southerners. After much investigation, a site for the conference was found at Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama. With the Alabama developments, some educators thought that the time was not sound for such a conference. The National Staff continued to look for funds from foundations and individuals, but the actual raising of funds and further progress have been held in abeyance.

- 26 -

(Exhibit WE-7d)

EXCERPTS FROM MINUTES 3TH NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS USNSA
AUGUST 21 - 31, 1955
MINNEAPOLIS

USNSA declares a national Academic Freedom Week, the exact date of which shall be determined by the Educational Affairs Vice President and which shall be publicly announced by November 1, 1955. In order to implement the above stated principles, a committee shall be established within the Educational Affairs Commission or a region shall be appointed by post-Congress Staff. This committee shall be responsible for submitting to the National Office of USNSA with a request for funds, a plan for the publication of a booklet on observance of AFW. This booklet will include ways and means of publicity, dissemination of pertinent information and knowledge, setting up a speakers' bureau, a film service, etc. The committee shall contact for financial assistance such institutions as the Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Fund for the Republic, etc. The committee will establish contact with the AFW chairman in each region implementing this program.

The USNSA strongly urges that within their own framework member schools:

1. Participate in an inter-racial exchange of cultural programs, debates, discussions, joint student government conferences, religious and political meetings and athletic contests.

2. Work toward:
a) integration of all campus activities and the use of all campus facilities.

b) integration of off campus and on campus housing.

3. Form groups of interested students, faculty and administration to give concerted attention to integration.

4. Encourage interested student groups to work with interested civic groups.

5. Encourage the preparation of prospective teachers to teach as members of mixed faculties in desegregated schools.

6. Promote similar attitudes toward integration on secondary levels through college leadership and contact with high school student leaders.

DECLARATION: USNSA recommends that a national scholarship program be enacted by Congress.

FACT: The Seventh National Student Congress took action to gain information on the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954 in order to determine the character of these acts and the degree to which they affect the "free exchange of ideas in the academic community." (See (X) Page 2.)

The Fund for the Republic has commissioned Mr. David Reisman to undertake such a study.

PRINCIPLE: In line with a concept of fundamental freedom it is necessary that the individual be allowed to move freely in a world of ideas, USNSA therefore opposes those political test oaths and questionnaires affecting students such as ROTC oaths, draft oaths, admission oaths, administration oaths, and faculty oaths as being an opposition to this concept of freedom. We recognize that it is the right of business, education and governmental organizations to investigate the background only insofar as such investigation concerns their ability to perform the job of prospective employees. We do not feel that such investigation should entail the applicant's being required to sign any oath testifying as to his political affiliations, past or present.

(Exhibit WE-8a)

-2-

FACT: The Attorney General of the United States has promulgated a list of alleged subversive, communist, communist-front and fascist organizations, additions to which are made periodically. Among the organizations so designated are included groups with which students might affiliate. This list has been used as the basis for political test oaths and questionnaires for student participation in ROTC programs and compulsory military service and in other ways.

PRINCIPLE: Traditional to American democracy is the notion that an individual's choice of political belief or association is governed primarily by his own conscience. In order that this process of choosing among alternative views be rational and meaningful, it is necessary that decision by the result of equal consideration and discussion of all ideas rather than the product of authoritarian pressure or coercion.

DECLARATION: USNSA believes that, while the government following procedures of due process has the right to seek to prosecute and to keep from security positions individuals presently engaged in subversive activities, and/or belonging to parties or organizations which have been proven by law to be subversive, it must at all times respect the right of individuals to free exchange of ideas and freedom of personal association.

USNSA hereby condemns the flagrant abuse of the existing list of allegedly subversive organizations compiled by the Attorney General.

1) USNSA condemns the placing of any organization upon any list of allegedly subversive groups without due process of law.

2) USNSA condemns any kind of discrimination based upon personal association with present or past members of alleged subversive organizations.

3) USNSA condemns any kind of discrimination against individuals who have belonged to subversive organizations in the past, if these people have since terminated their membership and have ceased all active participation in these groups.

(X) ACTION: USNSA therefore opposes the use of the existing Attorney General's list as a determinant of the loyalty of citizen-students and requests that:

1) A USNSA representative testify to the aforementioned stand before the Hennings committee of the U.S. Senate investigating civil liberties.

ADMINISTRATIVE: Student government should actively participate in the formulation of administrative decisions. Examples of such matters are entrance requirements, discriminatory policies and finances.

Inherent in the current problem of loyalty is the consideration of the rights and responsibilities of educators.

USNSA believes that the only grounds on which a professor should be judged are his professional competence and integrity. This principle is basic. Only for lack of professional competence or integrity should a professor be removed from a teaching position.

The USNSA believes that membership in any totalitarian conspiratorial group or organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. government often requires acceptance of certain principles and methods which surrender freedom in the search for truth. Where these principles are accepted the ability of a professor to be professional competent is endangered.

Nevertheless, the USNSA reaffirms its belief in the democratic process of law where in an individual is presumed innocent until proven guilty. In accord with this principle, we point out that membership in totalitarian conspiratorial groups or organizations that advocate violent overthrow of the government is not, in and of

(Exhibit WE-8b)

itself, sufficient grounds for dismissal from a university position, but that dismissal is justified only after investigation of each individual case proves professional incompetence or lack of integrity.

The USNSA recognizes the right of the Congress of the United States to conduct investigations for legislative purposes; however, we condemn the methods of some of the current investigations into education as unjust and unsatisfactory. These investigations can lead to the destruction of freedom in the academic community and in society itself. Therefore, we recommend that Congress change its methods so as not to endanger freedom in the academic community.

The USNSA further believes that it is desirable to cooperate with federal, state and local governmental investigating committees but declining to reply to questions concerning views, affiliations and associations, including the use of the Fifth Amendment, or any other applicable section of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, by an educator, as his reason for not replying to questions, is not justifiable cause for dismissal.

ACTION: The USNSA directs the Staff to secure comprehensive material explaining the implication of the various service alternatives and to disseminate this material through regional channels to member schools and other interested groups. The Staff is further directed to communicate with secondary, college, and national counseling offices to stress USNSA's concern over the need for more effective military counseling.

* DECLARATION: We recognize that the current international situation might justify a military reserve, and we feel that conceivably such a situation could extend indefinitely. Justification of this act could also justify further "temporary" legislative measures. Therefore, we must consider whether this military program is consistent with the aims and policies of USNSA.

* * * * * *

* This failed to pass - indicates the arrogance and other features of the NEA total program.

(Exhibit WE-8e)

Q. We want to thank you very much, Mrs. Edmiston, for coming down and testifying. On behalf of the people of the State of Louisiana, I want you to know that we deeply appreciate the efforts that you and your husband have made for our country, and the continuing efforts that you and your husband are making now, since you have been ejected from the party. Thank you very, very much.

A. Thank you.

— WITNESS EXCUSED —

Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation, State of La. Baton Rouge, La. March 4, 1959

SENATOR RAINACH: Counsel will call the next witness to the stand, have him sworn, and proceed with the examination.

MR. SHAW: I would like to call Sergeant Badeaux to the stand.

SGT. HUBERT BADEAUX, FIRST BEING DULY SWORN TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH, TESTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

Q. Would you please state your name and spell it for the record?

A. My name is Hubert Badeaux. Testimony

Q. Where do you live?

A. I reside at 220 Claiborne Courts, New Orleans 21, Louisiana.

Q. How old are you?

A. Thirty-five on May 10th, Mr. Shaw. Born May 10, 1922

Q. What is your occupation?

A. Sergeant, New Orleans Police Department.

Q. Sergeant Badeaux, will you give us a resume of your educational background?

A. I graduated from Fortier High School in New Orleans, and then I went to Loyola University where I am now a junior in political science.

Q. You stated that you are a sergeant in the New Orleans Police Department?

A. Yes sir.

Q. What is your specific duty with that organization?

A. The Agent in Charge of the Division of Intelligence Affairs.

Q. Would you describe what the Division of Intelligence Affairs is?

A. It is a unit within the police department responsible for the collection of information relative to Communists or other subversive influences in the community. The idea is that this information will be channeled to the proper authorities for whatever legal action might be implicated.

Q. By virtue of your position, I imagine you have some knowledge of the existence of Communistic Party activity in the State of Louisiana. Is that correct?

A. Yes sir, the Communist Party is not only existing in Louisiana; in this very city where we are having this hearing they are operating. The extent of their influence is not only widespread, but it is being deeply felt in our everyday activities for, as a matter of fact, they have infiltrated into every area of activity in our state.

Q. This committee is interested in learning just how far the Communists have gone, how they are using the minorities, particularly in connection with various problems in the State of Louisiana. Do you have any specific knowledge of Communist efforts in that direction?

A. Yes sir, from actual surveillance, from intelligence reports and other sources of information which I have personally developed I can give you typical patterns of influence of the Communist Party, not only in the minority groups but in other organizations; but the minority group is simply a segment in the whole web of the Communist network.

Q. Before going into that, Sergeant, most of us have read in the last few years of some rather extensive police work being done in New Orleans on this particular subject. One of the highlights, I recall, was a raid on the Communist organizer for this district, a Negro named O'Dell —

WITNESS: HUBERT BADEAUX

Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

A. Yes.

Q. Were you instrumental in that particular raid?

A. Yes, our office developed the lead on the location of the documents and sent agents, temporarily assigned to us for the performance of that raid, in there with instructions to take everything in the place that was paper and bring it back.

Q. I believe the various raids and things of that type in New Orleans that have been conducted through the New Orleans Police Department, have been under you. Is that right?

A. That's correct, sir.

Q. Now, would you proceed at your own pace to introduce whatever evidence you may have which demonstrates that organizations are being influenced by Communists or what the target of Communist penetrations might be in this state?

A. Mr. Shaw, I would first like to establish for you that the N.A.A.C.P. has thousands of documents which support the idea of Communist penetration and convince even the most skeptical person of the extent of influence of the Communist Party in the case of the N.A.A.C.P., as your other witnesses have testified, by the attempts of the party to use the N.A.A.C.P. Here you have a booklet put out by the National Education Department, Communist Party, U.S.A., 268 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y., published in January, 1953, and the title of it is **"Stalin's Thought Illuminates Problems of Negro Freedom Struggle,"** by Charles P. Mann, which, of course, is a fictitious name.

The Communists operate on the assumption that the Negroes are an oppressed and colonial people. The plan of the party for the Negro in the south is not just local, it is international. This book says on the front: "For Discussion in Clubs and Classes." That means Communist clubs and classes. The author speaks about the definite upswing, the upsurge of the Negro for national liberation, which, in the Aesopian language of the Communist, simply means a bloody revolution. In the accounts of these people (because of the efforts of the "capitalist" police they must conceal their true thoughts, much the same as did Aesop, the writer of fables) — the mastering of the Aesopian language is important; otherwise a Communist would never understand the party literature.

He, Mann, speaks here, on Page 3:

"Such oppression of the Negroes in the United States has given rise to the Negro people's movement for equal democratic rights and national liberation. This movement has deep roots in the life history of the American Negroes: the slave revolts, the 19th century Negro people's Convention, the Abolition movement, the Civil War uprisings and the Reconstruction years are landmarks of the old time history of this movement."

Then he speaks about how it expresses itself — through organization forms:

"Today the Negro people's freedom movement appears as a multiplicity of ogranizations embracing in their totality from 3 to 5 million Negroes . . . The most influential and largest organ-

ization in a political sense is the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) — a bourgeois, reformist organization whose decisive national leadership perennially retains close ties with the prevailing government administration . . ."

Now the reformist, to a Communist — well, he is a "dirty bird," a man who believes in reform for reform's sake. The fact that the Communists have published this booklet "For Discussion in Clubs and Classes" relates to the party that the N.A.A.C.P. is the most influential group, and it is a "reformist" group. Lenin tells them in his work — **Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder** — that they must use "reform" as a screen for their illegal activities — that they must penetrate and then deceive, must get inside of all the most influential mass works. In this case, the N.A.A.C.P. is the organization.

Then you see, in the Emmett Till case in the State of Mississippi, the Communists made an incident of that all out of proportion. They did capitalize on that. I have here a reprint from **Political Affairs. Political Affairs** is the chief theoretical organ of the Communist Party in this country. It is the same magazine which Mr. Kornfeder identified as **The Communist**, but the name has been changed. Now, this particular article, "The Till Case and the Negro Liberation Movement," was considered important enough by the party to have reproduced in supplement form and distributed generally.

Q. How did you come into possession of that?

A. This was seized from Hunter Pitts O'Dell who at that time was District Organizer for the Communist Party in the State of Louisiana, operating in New Orleans.

Q. That came out of his papers?

A. Yes, furthermore, he had instructions to distribute thousands of these supplements. Now this particular document speaks about organizing and making close knit groups of white, liberal white, Negro, and so forth in an effort to get the most out of the Till case by agitation and propaganda, and also to further the revolution, which is their overall aim. The immediate objective of the Communists must always be carried onward with their overall objective. A man who is not a Communist, but merely liberal, sees only the immediate objective, and that's how he is drawn into the Communist orbit and helps the Communist cause. He doesn't go for the overall objective, but he can be engaged to further the cause of the revolution by going along with one point.

Now, this is significant here, I will quote to you from Page 10 the author's words:

". . . One can hardly say, unfortunately, that the implication of these attacks upon the NAACP and its leadership in the South is fully grasped by the Negro movement, organized labor, and the large circle of liberals and civil rights fighters in the country. Even the national spokesmen of the Association have been slow in reacting to this very dangerous development. There is a strong tendency to underestimate the possibility of the success of these attacks. But there should be no illusion on this score. Southern reaction is in deadly earnest. Therefore, nothing short of the most resolute fight to defend and safeguard the NAACP

will be sufficient to stay the hand of reaction on this front. A most vigorous response on the part of labor and white Americans generally is in order."

Now again, Mr. Chairman, you have a significant message—of the Communists' declared intention to resolutely defend the N.A.A.C.P., which they would not do if it were an anti-Communist organization, or if it could not be used to their own advantage.

You have another instance of the Aesopian language. "Southern reaction" means anyone who is in favor of asserting himself politically or socially, but whose views do not coincide with those of the Communists. He is automatically termed "reactionary," and the Communist "reserves" (those non-Communist liberals who support the Communists by saying, "Well then, if you don't support" (we'll say) "integration, of course you are reactionary") give him no further consideration. This also indicates that they fear the success of such committees as the one here, and they are instructing the party in Aesopian language to exert every effort to discredit men such as you gentlemen, Sgt. Badeaux in the Intelligence Division, Chief Banister of the Police Department, and anyone else connected with showing the influence of the Communistic movement in minority groups or in any organization.

Q. Pardon me, what about introduction of those in evidence? Do you have—

A. I can have these photostated for you, the parts that I have quoted, or if you would prefer to do that yourself—

Q. We will do that ourselves.

A. All right, sir.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence these two documents and ask that they be marked WB-1 and WB-2 for identification with leave to substitute photostated copies.

SENATOR RAINACH: The Chair orders that exhibits WB-1 and WB-2 be introduced into the records with the understanding that photostats be made of the pertinent parts and substituted therefor. **(See Pages 258, 259, 260 for Exhibit WB-1 and Pages 261, 262 for Exhibit WB-2.)**

A. Now sir, sticking with the N.A.A.C.P., the **Louisiana Weekly** on July 17, 1943 carries this particular news article. Of course, you know the N.A.A.C.P. would never publish their membership lists; therefore, as an intelligence officer we get our information where we can. The newspaper is not too bad a source sometimes. It identifies one Raymond S. Tillman as vice-president of the New Orleans Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. Raymond Tillman has been and is known to us as one of the most militant Communists in the State of Louisiana, and at that particular time — the date is important to remember — July 17, 1943, he was vice-president of the N.A.A.C.P. branch in the City of New Orleans. That was about the time that the N.A.A.C.P. was distributing circulars such as this in the name of "national unity," but actually, gentlemen, it is nothing but an extension of Lenin's exhortation to sharpen the class warfare. **(See Page 263 for Exhibit WB-3.)**

This next exhibit is a circular and is ostensibly a lure to get the Negroes to join the N.A.A.C.P., and that was in October of 1942. It

WB-1 255

STALIN'S THOUGHT ILLUMINATES PROBLEMS of NEGRO FREEDOM STRUGGLE

by
CHARLES P. MANN

FOR DISCUSSION IN CLUBS AND CLASSES

ISSUED BY NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPT. COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. 268 SEVENTH AVE. NEW YORK 1, N.Y.
PRICE 25¢ JANUARY 1953

(Exhibit WB-1a)

Furthermore, as Stalin teaches us, we must examine each particular national question from "... the concrete historical conditions as the starting point, the dialectical presentation of the problem as the only correct way of presenting it ..." (1)

"National oppression", to cite Stalin's definition, "is that system of exploitation and plunder of subject peoples, those measures of forcible restriction of the political rights of a subject people, which are resorted to by imperialist circles. These, taken together, present the policy generally known as a policy of national oppression." (2)

That the United States imperialist ruling class and its government pursues a policy of national oppression toward the Negro people is well known to all peoples in the whole world. The ten million Negroes in the South are almost completely disfranchised and are without representation in either of the three branches of government nationally, or in the States, cities, towns and counties in which they live. Negro representatives in local and state government from the large Negro minorities who live in the principal metropolitan centers of the rest of the country are kept to a bare token — in no place proportional to their numbers in the community. From punitively enforced barbarous jim crow laws in the southern states to the country-wide practice of discrimination, segregation and exclusion in every walk of life — economic, cultural and social — the Negro people are the most oppressed of all the "pariah" peoples within the borders of the United States "democracy". The recent petition of the C.R.C. to the United Nations, entitled "We Charge Genocide" delineates and documents in all its hideousness the brutal face of Wall Street's oppression of the Negro people.

Such oppression of the Negroes in the U.S. has given rise to the Negro people's movement for equal democratic rights and national liberation. This movement has deep roots in the life history of the American Negroes: the slave revolts, the 19th century Negro people's Conventions, the abolition movement, the Civil War uprisings and the Reconstruction years are landmarks of the old time history of this movement. Then and now it created and it expressed itself through organizational forms. Today the Negro people's freedom movement appears as a multiplicity of organizations embracing in their totality from 3 to 5 million Negroes — ranging from the capitalist orientated Urban League on the "right" to the National Negro Labor Council on the "left". The most influential and largest organization in a political sense is the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) - a bourgeois reformist organization whose decisive national leadership perenially retains close ties with the prevailing government administration. However, the bulk of the organized Negroes are to be found in organizations not expressedly political — in religious, fraternal, social and cultural societies and benefit associations, such as the National Baptist Convention, the Colored Elks, the Colored Masons, National Council of Negro Women, etc.

(1) STALIN, Marxism and the National Question, Int'l Pub., 1942, p. 30
(2) STALIN, Ibid, p. 69.

(Exhibit WB-1b)

Although these respective organizations place their major emphasis upon one demand or group of issues or another, taken all together these emphases compose the most urgent demands and the "ripest" elements in the program for Negro freedom. The essence of this program scientifically expressed is: (1) the country-wide demand for equal democratic rights, and against all forms of discrimination and segregation, and (2) the demand for self-determination, for self-government, for national liberation of the disfranchised and stateless Negro nation in that territory of the South where it has its being, which it now inhabits as the majority people. These two aspects, both parts taken as an inseparable whole, represent the key programmatic demands of the Negro people's democratic movement.

These two interlocked, yet distinctive set of demands, reflect and correspond to the two trends within the national movement; they correspond to the two component parts of that movement.

* * *

N.B.: Stalin's definitive definition of a nation and excerpts from his elaboration upon its several respective characteristics, follows --

"A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." (Stalin, Marxism and the National Question, p. 12).

"A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people ... Thus, a nation is not a racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people ...

"Thus a nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people." (Ibid, p. 9)

"... Community of language is one of the characteristic features of a nation. This, of course, does not mean that different nations always and everywhere necessarily speak different languages, or that all who speak one language necessarily constitute a nation. A common language for *every* nation, but *not necessarily different languages for* different nations. (Ibid, p. 10)

"... Community of territory is one of the characteristic features of a nation ..." (Ibid, p. 11) "A nation is formed only as a result ... of the fact that people live together from generation to generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory." (Ibid, p. 10).

"... community of economic life, economic cohesion, is one of the characteristic features of a nation." (Ibid, p. 12).

(NOTE: Footnote continued bottom of p. 5

(Exhibit WB-1c)

W.B. 3-24-56 WB-2

The TILL CASE and the NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT

by EDWARD E. STRONG

Reprinted from
POLITICAL AFFAIRS
DECEMBER, 1955

(Exhibit WB-2a)

Georgia are being laid by the State's Attorney General. Already the organization is being forced to function in a semi-legal manner in a whole series of areas in the South. In some areas, for all practical purposes, it is already illegal. This criminal conduct on the part of the ruling class, unless it is speedily checkmated, may very well lead to a situation in the South similar to that which existed in India for years where the British outlawed the Indian National Congress, or in Morocco, where the French colonialists still refuse to grant legal existence to the Isticlal, the Party of the Moroccan majority.

Thus, a new question arises out of the de-segregation fight, the right-to-vote movement, and the struggles around the death of the Negro boy, Emmett Till. That question has to do with the defense of the legal existence of the NAACP, the Elks, Negro churches, and other Negro institutions associating themselves with this movement. Clearly the counter-offensive of big business against the Negro liberation movements is as many-sided as it is total. A most dangerous side of this offensive is the arrogant attacks against the NAACP now being made throughout the South. If the Attorney General of Georgia can declare that the NAACP is "part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy," does this not also threaten the Negro Elks, or the Negro church, or any organization, Negro or white, that speaks up in support of the rights of the Negro people?

One can hardly say, unfortunately, that the implication of these attacks upon the NAACP and its leadership in the South is fully grasped by the Negro movement, organized labor, and the large circle of liberals and civil rights fighters in the country. Even the national spokesmen of the Association have been slow in reacting to this very dangerous development. There is a strong tendency to underestimate the possibility of the success of these attacks. But there should be no illusion on this score. Southern reaction is in deadly earnest. Therefore, nothing short of the most resolute fight to defend and safeguard the NAACP will be sufficient to stay the hand of reaction on this front. A most vigorous response on the part of labor and white Americans generally is in order.

THE TILL CASE AND THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

The *New York Times* (Oct. 22) carried a release from the American Jewish Committee to the effect "that United States prestige abroad had been 'seriously damaged' by the Till case. . . . The report . . . asserted that European condemnation had been 'swift, violent and universal.'" In all parts of the world the "not guilty" verdicts in the Till case were given major press coverage. Simultaneous with the critical appraisal abroad of America's "leadership of the free world," Dr. Howard was declaring in New York "that the United States had no right to go to

(Exhibit WE-2b)

Louisiana Weekly
July 17,1943

Install Officers Of Norco NAACP

Reading of the charter and installation of officers of the St. Charles Parish Branch of the NAACP took place at the Good Hope Baptist Church ,Norco, La., on Sunday, according to plans made by officers and members of the branch, it was announced.

Attorney A. P. Tureaud of New Orleans addressed the branch on the duties and responsibilities of the officers and urged them to fulfill these duties to the best of their ability. Raymond S. Tillman, vice-president of the New Orleans branch, also spoke.

The meeting was attended by D. E. Byrd, president of the New Orleans branch and the Louisiana Conference of Branches, and A. Belanoussaye. The officers of the St. Charles Parish Branch are: L. A. Hawkins, president; Jos. B. Lofton, vice-president; Theodore Eugene, secretary; O'Neil Jones, assistant secretary, and Benjamin Quiney, treasurer. Rev. Scott of New Orleans offered prayers.

(Exhibit WB-3)

purports to show the bodies of two young Negro boys who were lynched. It says here "Charles Lang and Ernest Green, two 14-year-old Mississippi boys who were lynched near Shubuta, October 11, 1942. They can not join! But you can!" Now, that is strictly inflammatory literature that was put out at the time Tillman was holding sway in the N.A.A.C.P. (See Page 265 for Exhibit WB-4.)

I should also like to introduce another circular as evidence to show the character of what the N.A.A.C.P. was doing in those days. This is a circular urging a boycott. "Stay Out of Maison Blanche, D. H. Holmes, Godchaux, Mayer Israel. These stores DISCRIMINATE against COLORED WOMEN." Again an attempt to intensify class warfare. "Colored women discriminated against" and "Stay out of"—and of course the people are white who own the stores. They make no attempt to say what the discrimination is, which colored women were being discriminated against, if any. They don't attempt to explain anything at all, except just "Stay out of" because they "discriminate against colored women . . . Don't spend your money where you are not wanted." (See Page 266 for Exhibit WB-5.)

Q. That is an N.A.A.C.P. circular?

A. Consumers League of the N.A.A.C.P. There was a point in the history of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. when it urged the Negroes not to press for their demands as far as civil rights and other inequities which they maintain that they have. Today they are begging the use of federal troops to intervene, particularly in matters of the states. It is in sharp contrast to March 4, 1944, from this exhibit, a news article published in the **Pittsburgh Courier**, when the N.A.A.C.P. charged that federal troops were usurping their rights because they were interfering with the segregated arrangements in a bus — on the St. Claude bus line in New Orleans.

This purports to be the text of a letter to Lieut. Col. Charles R. Dinwiddie, office of the provost marshal, from Daniel E. Byrd, president of the New Orleans branch of the N.A.A.C.P. Byrd complains about the military police stationing themselves in the busses and preventing the Negroes from being seated. He says this:

> **"The action on the part of the military police has gone far towards creating a certain amount of unrest among the Negro people who are forced to ride the St. Claude bus."** There is never an explanation of why they are forced to ride the St. Claude bus. **"Arguments frequently flare up, and we feel that this practice, if not stopped, may bring disgrace upon our fair city."** You will note that they are not too much concerned about these arguments any longer. This was in '44 at the time that Soviet Russia needed all the help that they could get. **"For the sake of national unity,"** they emphasized in those days, and **"the preservation of peace in the community,"** a thing they also emphasized but one which they no longer do. Another, **"we request that you conduct an investigation."** It is significant the way Byrd signs this letter, **"Yours for Victory."**

Q. Do you know why the troops were stationed — military police were stationed on those bus lines?

A. No sir. Byrd wrote this letter apparently without any investigation of

WITNESS: HUBERT BADEAUX

WB-4

THEY CAN NOT JOIN!
BUT YOU CAN!



Pictured above are Charles Lang, left, and Ernest Green, two 14-year old Mississippi boys who were lynched near Shubuta, October 11, 1942.

For The Past 34 Years The N. A. A. C. P. Has Been On The Firing Line Fighting Our Battles Against Racial Discrimination, Segregation, and Disfranchisement.

The New Orleans Branch Is Now Conducting A Campaign For 10,000 Members. Will You Be One Of Them? Join Now. Don't Wait For Someone To Call On You For A Membership . . . Mail or Bring It To Our Branch Headquarters, At 4124 Willow Street or 810 No. Claiborne Avenue.

The Campaign Ends May 9, 1943.

Memberships:
$1.00; $2.50; $
$25.00; $100.0

JOIN TODAY!!

Ask Your Neighbor T Join — Work For The Cause

Williams Printing Service — 930 N. Claiborne Ave.

(Exhibit WB-4)

261
WB-5

• STAY OUT OF •

MAISON BLANCHE GODCHAUX

D. H. HOLMES MAYER ISRAEL

(These stores DISCRIMINATE against COLORED WOMEN.)

Close your account by writing a letter to Herbert J. Schwartz, President of Maison Blanche Co., stating WHY.

Influence all of your friends and acquaintances to close accounts and refrain from spending any money at these stores.

Don't spend your money where you are not wanted.

Consummers League NAACP

• • •

Register today Vote every election

(Exhibit WB-5)

his own. He must have received a complaint or so. He says that he did receive complaints that the military police were moving the "jim crow" screens to the rear of the bus and sitting immediately in front of them, which prevented the Negroes from securing seats. The white sections then filled up the bus. He didn't want the military police to be doing such a thing. The Courier says that he "Charges Military Police Usurp Rights of Citizens," but then the article itself says nothing about the "usurpation."

The significant part there, Mr. Shaw, is the fact that this was during the time the Communist Party did not want the Negroes to start any disturbance at all for fear it would lead to some breakdown in national unity in the United States, and they couldn't afford that, because it would hinder the war effort — "the people's war against Facist beasts and Adolph Hitler." They did not want any disturbance at all because it would cut down the war potential of this country.

Q. In other words, what you interpret that letter to mean was that they were afraid that the presence of these policemen would actually agitate the situation?

A. That's correct.

Q. And therefore, the N.A.A.C.P. was asking that they be removed?

A. Yes, Byrd makes no objection to the operator of the bus moving the screens. He had no objection to the "jim crow" screens as such. He says that "we are of the opinion that the state law says that the operator of the vehicle is supposed to move the jim crow screens." Now, he doesn't want the military police fooling with it because it may start an incident. (See Page 268 for Exhibit WB-6)

A. Now, I would like to give you a little case history of how the Communists took over a local union in the City of New Orleans. This starts also back in 1943 when a Negro named Willie Dorsey, who was head of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, Local 207, was ousted from office through some type of union maneuver. Willie Dorsey asked the assistance of the N.A.A.C.P., stating that the people who had ousted him were Communists and had been sent by Harry Bridges from the west coast to take over this union. In the New Orleans Sentinel, a Negro newspaper at that time, of June 19, 1943, you have the following news story:

"NAACP VOTES TO STEER CLEAR OF DORSEY'S OUSTER; PLEA IS TABLED"

"Monday night at its regular meeting, the New Orleans branch NAACP by voting to table discussion on a motion which, if carried, would have sent to the National office a plea for support from the Dorsey Faction of the ILWU, Local 27,"

(they have 37, but actually it was 207)

"declined to become involved in the labor dispute that followed the removal of Willie Dorsey and several other officers from the local.

"Following a declaration by Father J. A. Dealet that the Dorsey ousting was brought about by his failure to take orders from communists within the organization, the NAACP took the stand that because of its political nature the matter did not come within the NAACP program . . .

"The discussion of the labor matter took the form of a debate

Pittsburgh Courier
March 4,1944

Charges MPs Usurp Rights Of Citizens

B-U-L-L-E-T-I-N!

"In the City of New Orleans, military police ride street cars and motor buses for the purpose of preserving law and order among military personnel.

"Any action on the part of military police to take possession of the bus by moving screens or interfering with civilians in any way, is in direct violation of their orders.

"Appropriate action has already been taken by this office to insure that there will be no future practices as mentioned in your letter," stated Lt. Col. Charles R. Dinwiddie, provost marshal, New Orleans, in a letter to Daniel E. Byrd, president of the New Orleans Branch NAACP.

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Charging U. S. military police with usurping the rights of colored citizens who are forced to ride the St. Claude bus regularly, thus creating a certain amount of unrest, Daniel E. Byrd, president of the New Orleans Branch NACP, this week directed communications to Lt. Col. Charles R. Dinwiddie, Office of the Provost Marshal, New Orleans, the Provost Marshal General, Washington, D. C., and the New Orleans Public Service, Inc.

Mr. Byrd requested of the individuals and organization concerned the following consideration. In the event that the military police were acting without due authority, please see that such a practice is stopped immediately."

His letter is as follows:

February 17,1944.

Lt. Col. Charles R. Dinwiddie,
Office of the Provost Marshal,
635 Federal Building,
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Sir:

We are in receipt of two complaints regarding the action of military police on the St. Claude bus line. I am sure the military police are acting without authority from your office. For some time military police have been stationed on this bus constantly, evidently to quell any disturbances that may arise among the military personnel.

However, the complaint states that the military police take full possession of the bus to the extent that they move the screens and place them on the last seats and sit there until the bus is completely filled with white passengers, thereby preventing any Negro passengers from securing seats.

We are of the opinion that the state law says that the operator of the vehicle is supposed to move the jim-crow screens. We are told that the military police are not to interfere with civilians except in dire emergencies.

The action on the part of the military police has gone far towards creating a certain amount of unrest among the Negro people who are forced to ride the St. Claude bus. Arguments frequently flare up and we feels that this practice, if not stopped, may bring disgrace upon our fair city.

For the sake of national unity and the preservation of peace in the community we request that you conduct an investigation. In the event the military police are acting without due authority, please see that such a practice is stopped immediately.

Yours for Victory,
DANIEL E. BYRD,
President, New Orleans
Branch NAACP.

(Exhibit WB-6)

between Father Drolet, who contended that the union officials were removed without the consent of the membership and that the members' right to vote had been denied, and"

(here we find our "friend")

Raymond Tillman, member of the CIO Industrial Council, who stated that the removal was brought about by inefficient leadership and dishonesty.

"Father Drolet prefaced his statement with reference to his interest in the welfare of the Negro race. He read a letter from Roy Wilkins, NAACP assistant executive secretary, which congratulated the father for his liberal stand for Negroes at Houma, La. He said that his interest in the labor dispute was to see justice done toward the members and officers, charging that the International representative, Howard Goddard, now in charge of the union, rules by dictatorial methods. At one time during the discussion Father Drolet asserted that the whole top leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was communistic. He told the NAACP members that Negroes should guard against Communists.

"Tillman argued that the NAACP should take no part in the controversy because Dorsey was simply being used as a means to push 'Uncle Tom' leadership down the throats of the workers."

That is the cry of every Communist Negro leader. Whenever a Negro disagrees with his views on this national liberation and bloody revolt, as Manning Johnson testified, he is an Uncle Tom and a white man's Negro, and they discredit the man as much as they can. It is a characteristic Communist technique.

Q. By way of clarification, you spoke of Houma, Louisiana. That's H-O-U-M-A, isn't it?

A. Yes sir, it is.

You will find that technique outlined for you in J. Peter's manual on organization, which is the Communist underground secret manual. So, Tillman

" . . . denied that the members' right to vote had been taken from them, and said that in an open meeting Dorsey had been rejected with only one vote cast in his favor . . . Tillman charged financial irregularities during the Dorsey regime . . .

" 'To charge that Dorsey was removed because of politics is Red-baiting of the worse sort,' Tillman charged. In support of this point he produced a photostatic copy of a letter from Harry Bridges which invited Dorsey to bring his grievances before the international convention . . ."

Nelson took over the leadership of that union. **(See Page 270 for Exhibit WB-7.)**

Q. Nelson succeeded Dorsey. Is that right?

A. Yes. His faction.

Q. That was what these people were trying to get the N.A.A.C.P. —

A. They were trying to prevent the Communists from coming in to take this union, and they asked the N.A.A.C.P. for help. Now, here is the explanation that the N.A.A.C.P. gave a few weeks later. They saw fit to make a statement in the **Louisiana Weekly**, July 31, 1943:

"NAACP EXPLAINS ACTION IN NOT AIDING DORSEY"

"It has become necessary to clear up the position of New Orleans Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. in regard to the matter of Willie Dorsey in as much as either Mr. Dorsey or someone of his Victory

New Orleans Sentinel
June 19,1943

NAACP Votes To Steer Clear Of Dorsey's Ouster; Plea Is Tabled

Monday night at its regular meeting, the New Orleans branch NAACP by voting to table discussion on a motion which, if carried, would have sent to the National office a plea for support from the Dorsey faction of the ILWU, Local 27, declined to become involved in the labor dispute that followed the removal of Willie Dorsey and several other officers from the local.

Following a declaration by Father J. A. Drolet that the Dorsey ousting was brought about by his failure to take orders from communists within the organization the NAACP took the stand that matters of its political nature, the matter did not come within the NAACP program.

F-L-A-S-H!

Thursday in the CIO District Court union officials will be called on to answer charges brought against them by William Dorsey and other officers who claim that they were removed from office illegally and because they vexed and chided by certain political elements. The hearing was first set for May 6, changed to May 18, then to June 1.

Priest Leader Debate

The discussion of the labor matter took the form of a debate between Father Drolet, who contended that the union officials were removed without the consent of the membership and that the members' right to vote had been denied, and Raymond Tillman, member of the CIO Industrial Council, who stated that the removal was brought about by inefficient leadership and disloyalty.

Father Drolet prefaced his statement with reference to his interest in the welfare of the Negro race. He read a letter from Roy Wilkins, NAACP assistant executive secretary, which congratulated the father for his liberal stand for Negroes at Houma, La. He said that his interest in the labor dispute was to see justice done toward the members and officers, charging that the international representative, Howard Gebhard, now in charge of the union, ruled by dictatorial methods. At one time during the discussion Father Drolet asserted that the whole top leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union was communistic. He told the NAACP members that Negroes should guard against Communists.

Tillman argued that the NAACP should take no part in the controversy because Dorsey was simply being used as a means to oust "Uncle Tom" leadership above the throats of the workers. He denied that the members' right to vote had been taken from them, and said that in an open meeting Dorsey had been rejected when only two vote cast in his favor. He further charges that the ex-ILWU president, in order to get a "check off" agreement with the employers, signed a contract which placed the workers in an economic category next door to slavery. Tillman charged financial irregularities during the Dorsey regime. He summed up his argument by stating that to support irresponsible leadership for the workers was to oppose indirectly their best interests.

"To charge that Dorsey was removed because of politics is "Red-basting of the worst sort," Tillman charged. In support of this point he produced a photostatic copy of a letter from Harry Bridges which invited Dorsey to bring his grievances before the International convention with the assurance that if the charges made against him were found to be untrue he would be cleared. In connection with the charges of financial irregularities, Tillman presented the body with a certified accountant's report which alleged a shortage of more than $6,000.

Juvenile Delinquency

In answer to a letter pointing to the immoral character of stage shows in several local theatres, said to contribute to the growth of juvenile delinquency, President Daniel E. Byrd asked that the NAACP investigate the shows mentioned. Fathers Dodd and Maloney volunteered their services along with Mr. Humphrey, member of the committee.

President Byrd reads a report on the Detroit post-war conference, along with a number of suggestions for the local branch and the Louisiana State Conference of NAACP branches.

Mr. Arline Chrystal, chairman of the duties fund committee, announced that the organization has enough money on hand to begin its active campaign.

(Exhibit WB-7)

Committee issued some misleading information to the papers.

"In the case of Mr. Dorsey the president of the local branch N.A.A.C.P. was contacted. The president could in no way find where the Dorsey case was an N.A.A.C.P. case but did grant Mr. Dorsey the courtesy of speaking to the local branch which at this time took no action.

"Later Mr. Dorsey and Father Droulet again approached the president of the local branch and at the next monthly meeting Father Droulet pleaded the cause of Mr. Dorsey. The local branch still feeling that this was not an N.A.A.C.P. case motioned to table and the motion passed with about a 5 to 1 ratio.

"The N.A.A.C.P. has 6 objectives: 1. to educate America to accord full rights and opportunities to Negroes. 2. to fight injustices in courts when based on race prejudices. 3. to pass protective legislation in State and nation and discriminatory bills. 4. to secure the vote for Negroes and teach its proper use. 5. to stimulate the cultural life of Negroes. 6. to stop lynching.

"Dorsey grievances did not fit into any of these objectives. The grievances as stated by Father Droulet were to the effect that Dorsey's opponents were a bunch of communists. The N.A.A.C.P. is not a political organization. We are not in any way interested in the communists, republicans, or the democrats.

"Since Mr. Dorsey and his Victory Committee have some grievances against these opponents whom they labeled as communists this became a personal matter. The New Orleans Branch N.A.A.C.P. is ruled by the membership and as long as I am president it will continue to be governed by the membership. No one is going to use this branch to settle their own personal disputes. We fight issues and not personalities."

"New Orleans Branch N.A.A.C.P., Daniel E. Byrd, President."

(See Page 272 for Exhibit WB-8.)

A. Now, I want to show you what happened to that union after it was taken over. I would like to read to you the summaries of several meetings which Nelson conducted as head of the Local 207 of the ILWU.

Gentlemen, I have complete proceedings of over 100 union meetings presided over by Andrew Steve Nelson since he has taken over that union, and I defy any member of that local to tell me that my intelligence summaries are inaccurate, because I know precisely what went on inside each and every one of those meetings. That Nelson was a Communist I have no doubt. He consistently preached the party line at the union meetings and made little effort to conceal his support of the Communist Party. He was assisted in this by August Harris and Lee Brown. Lee Brown has also been identified at a public hearing as recently as a month ago as a member of the Communist Party.

On Sunday, February 1, 1948, Andrew Nelson, at a special meeting of the membership, moved that the local, the union local, send delegates to the Wallace-for-President Conference. That motion was carried. This conference was in connection with the efforts of the Communists to get former vice-president of the United States Henry A. Wallace into the White House. There is ample evidence of this Progressive Party movement that substantiates a number of things. In the recent hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee held in New Orleans, several former Communists testified to the Communistic efforts in that direction.

Nelson followed the party line. On April 2, 1948, at an Executive Board and Stewards Council meeting, Nelson announced that the mem-

Louisiana Weekly
July 31,1943

4

.43 8

NAACP Explains Action In Not Aiding Dorsey

It has become necessary to clear up the position of New Orleans Branch N. A. A. C. P. in regard to the matter of the Willie Dorsey in as much as either Mr. Dorsey or someone of his Victory Committee issued some misleading information to the papers.

In the case of Mr. Dorsey the president of the local branch N. A. A. C. P. was contacted. The president could in no way find where the Dorsey case was an N. A. A. C. P. case but did grant Mr. Dorsey the courtesy of speaking to the local branch which at this time took no action.

Later Mr. Dorsey and Father Drouiet again approached the president of the local branch and at the next monthly meeting Father Drouiet pleaded the cause of Mr. Dorsey. The local branch still feeling that this was not an N. A. A. C. P. case motioned to table and the motion passed with about a 6 to 1 ratio.

The N. A. A. C. P. has 6 objectives: 1. to educate America to accord full rights and opportunities to Negroes. 2. to fight injustices in courts when based on race prejudices. 3. to pass protective legislation in State and nation and discriminatory bills. 4. to secure the vote for Negroes and teach its proper use. 5. to stimulate the cultural life of Negroes. 6. to stop lynching.

Dorsey greviances did not fit into any of these objectives. The greviances as stated by Father Drouiet were to the effect that Dorsey's opponents were a bunch of communists. The N. A. A. C. P. is not a political organization. We are not in any way interested in the communists, republicans, or the democrats.

Since Mr. Dorsey and his Victory Committee have some grievances against these opponents whom they labeled as communists this became a personal matter. The New Orleans Branch N. A. A. C. P. is ruled by the membership and as long as I am president it will continue to be governed by the membership. No one is going to use this branch to settle their own personal disputes. We fight issues and not personalities.

New Orleans Branch
N. A. A. C. P.
Daniel E. Byrd, President

(Exhibit WB-8)

bers of the International Union were going "right down the line in supporting Wallace for President." Those are his words, exactly. At a general membership meeting of the local held on July 18, 1948, Nelson introduced Ernest Scott, President of the Transport Workers Union, Local 206. Scott spoke of the action of Henry Wallace in fighting for the benefit of the common man, of the action of his own Transport Workers Local in sending two delegates to the Wallace Convention in Philadelphia. After Scott's talk the membership carried the motion to send three delegates to the same convention. Scott is well known to the Division of Intelligence of the New Orleans Police Department and was recently identified as a member of the Communist Party before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

At an Executive Board and Stewards Council meeting of the local held on July 30, 1948, Nelson brought up the arrest and indictment of 12 members of the Communist Party. He discussed that at the union's meeting, and he and the other persons present expressed their disapproval of these arrests and indictments and asked that action be taken at once. Nelson also made reference to the Henry Wallace petition drive, and pointed out the need for immediate action on that point.

At a Special Board and Stewards Council meeting held on September 10, 1948, Nelson asked for financial support for the Wallace State Committee, saying that since the local had participated in all the activities to put Wallace across, that the contributions should be made to the State Committee in order that that committee might be able to continue the struggle to support Mr. Wallace. One member of the union present, identified only as "Brother Green," poor fellow, he objected, saying that the local should try to conserve its scant funds. He was, however, jumped on and contradicted by "Brother" Lee Brown, the old standby, who stated that the contributions should be made as the purpose was a good one, saying further that Wallace stood for good and always tried to advance the labor movement. Poor "Brother" Green didn't deny that; he just said they didn't have enough money. But, Brown said, "regardless, we are going to support him," so the motion was carried and they supported Wallace with money they didn't have.

At an Executive Board and Stewards Council meeting held on January 7, 1949, a member identified as "Brother" Harris — that's August Harris — asked that the local start a telegram drive to the President of the United States and to Attorney General Tom Clark, asking that charges be dropped against the 12 members of the Communist Party who "dared think what they wanted, even if it were not in accordance with a certain favored few." That's where your petitions and telegram drives get started, gentlemen, such Communist-controlled unions as Nelson's.

Executive Board and Stewards Council meeting of March 11, 1949, Lee Brown (as I say, he has been identified to us as a Communist and was known to us before that) asked for action by the board on the "12 persecuted brothers" facing the court in New York. Those are the people who were convicted under the Smith Act for attempting and advocating and conspiring to forcibly overthrow the United States

government. Brown called them "persecuted brothers," saying, "we should not stand by and see them convicted on those false charges." A formal collection was picked up from among the brothers present. Now, I want to show you in that connection a specific and direct weapon of the party line which was carried out almost immediately by Nelson.

Here I have a circular put out by the Communist Party of Louisiana, Box 2727, New Orleans, Louisiana. It was given out specifically by one Irvin Goff, at that time head of the Communist Party in Louisiana. On April 21, 1949, he handed this specific circular out to an Intelligence Agent on the New Orleans waterfront. The agent gave it to us. We put it in our files. It reads as follows:

"STOP THE WITCH-HUNT"

(Of course, you gentlemen realize that you are conducting a "witch-hunt" right now. You will be identified as such in the Daily Worker and liberal press all over the country in a matter of a very short time).

"Last week the ITEM announced another New Orleans witch-hunt. The ITEM claims full credit for exposing Communist activities on the New Orleans water-front.

"But the maritime workers know the ITEM is nothing more than a tool, or mouthpiece, for the Shipowners."

(Again the cry of warfare between the laboring man and the man who employs him).

"The ITEM stirs up these witch-hunts when needed by the shipowners — to intimidate the workers and divert their attention from the main issues which are: speed-up, unemployment, transfer of American ships to foreign flag, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and peace.

"Not only is the New Orleans ITEM carrying out the shipowners policy, but also the Truman Administration (controlled by shipowner-Wall Street Interests) is using the Federal Grand Jury to subpoena Communists and progressives. The shipowners have no trouble obtaining the aid of the government in the water-front witch-hunt. The Truman Administration is very anxious to use the Red smoke screen to cover up the fact that NONE of the promises made to the American people during the recent election campaign are being carried out. The government is using the Red issue to intimidate those who speak out against another World War. Communists and other liberal and progressive people who speak out for peace are branded as foreign agents and traitors.

"WHO PROFITS FROM WITCH-HUNTS?

"It is no accident that this present witch-hunt is being conducted in the second largest shipping port in the United States. The shipowners make a profit of millions of dollars in this port and in order to protect their huge profits against the growing militancy of the workers against the speed-up, growing unemployment and transfer of ships. The shipowners are using the government to intimidate the workers and try to convince them that the Communist are their enemy and not the shipowners.

"We Communist feel that the most important issues facing the seaman and longshoremen, as well as the rest of the American people are:

1. **Peace — end the cold war and establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union.**
2. **Unemployment — scrap the Marshal Plan and open trade to all countries.**

3. Stop the speed-up and improve working conditions.
4. Pass Civil Rights laws to improve the working conditions and living standards of the Negro and white workers in the South.
5. Stop the witch-hunts against Communists, liberals and progressives. Dismiss the trial against the 12 Communist leaders in New York.
6. Stop the Federal Grand Jury investigation against Communist, liberals and progressives in New Orleans — prosecute the KKK and police brutality in the South instead.

"Write President Truman, White House Washington, D. C.,— Tell him we want jobs and peace not witch-hunts and war."

This was received on April 21. (See Page 276 for Exhibit WB-9.)

On April 24 of this same year Andrew Steve Nelson, presiding at a meeting of the Local 207, passed two resolutions: 1, to dismiss the indictments against the 12 Communists and to stop the so-called Witch-Hunt in the City of New Orleans, and 2, to get the Grand Jury to investigate the Police Department of the City of New Orleans. They followed that party line immediately and directly.

Q. Before you leave the subject of that particular union — that's the International Longshoremen's Union?

A. Yes, I have one more here. Again, in November of 1951, on the 16th day of November to be precise, Nelson introduced at that meeting of the local in New Orleans one Roosevelt Ward, an outstanding and well-known Communist leader and presently a columnist for the **Daily Worker.** Ward spoke of his difficulty with the United States over his draft dodging charges and his work in the case of Willie McGee and Paul Washington, both of whom were subject to action of the Civil Rights Congress, a Communist front organization. Ward also told the membership that W. E. B. DuBois had been intimidated by the Federal Government and the FBI, and then Ward was given a standing ovation by the members of that union present — this Communist who had been convicted by the government for draft dodging, among other things! On June 8, 1951, at an Executive Board and Stewards Council meeting Nelson introduced one Winifred Feise, identified in public hearings as a member of the Communist Party. Mrs. Feise was introduced as a worker for the National Peace Conference.

Q. Would you spell that name for the records, please?

A. F-e-i-s-e. She is a white woman and a member of the Communist Party. Of course, this is a Negro local. She was introduced as a worker for the National Peace Conference and spoke on the nation's foreign policy. She spoke against the people of the south, calling them **Dixiecrats** and saying that they were working like hell to keep the colored people of the world down, and she referred to the "legal executions" of Willie McGee and Edward Honeycutt.

During the time that Nelson presided over the union there were frequent instances of support of the party line, ranging from opposition to the Marshall Plan to support for civil rights; demand for action against the New Orleans police, dismissal of the charges against the Communists.

In connection with this matter, here is a photostat of an organ-

WB-9

STOP THE WITCH-HUNT

Last week the Item announced another New Orleans witch-hunt. The Item claims full credit for exposing Communist activities on the New Orleans water-front.

But the maritime workers know the Item is nothing more than a tool, or mouth-piece, for the Shipowners. The Item, stirs up these witch-hunts when needed by the shipowners - to intimidate the workers and divert their attention from the main issues which are speed-up, unemployment, transfer of American ships to foreign flag, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and peace.

Not only is the New Orleans Item carrying out the shipowners policy, but also the Truman Administration(controlled by shipowner-Wall Street interests) is using the Federal Grand Jury to suppress Communist and progressives. The shipowners have no trouble obtaining the aid of the government in the water-front witch-hunt. The Truman administration is very anxious to use the red-scare screen to cover up the fact that NONE of the promises made to the American people during the recent election campaign are being carried out. The government is using the Red issue to intimidate those who speak out against another World War. Communists and other liberal and progressive people who speak out for peace are branded as foreign agents and traitors.

WHO PROFITS FROM WITCH-HUNTS?

It is no accident that this present witch-hunt is being conducted in our second largest shipping port in the United States. The shipowners make a profit of millions of dollars in this port and in order to protect their hugh profits against the growing militancy of the workers against the speed-up, growing unemployment and transfer of ships. The shipowners use the U.S. government to intimidate the workers and try to convince them that the Communist are their enemy and not the shipowners.

We Communist feel that the most important issues facing the seamen and longshoreman, as well as the rest of the American people are:

1. Peace - - and the cold war and establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union.
2. Unemployment - - across the Marshall Plan and open trade to all countries.
3. Stop the speed-up and improve working conditions.
4. Pass Civil Rights laws to improve the working conditions and living standards of the Negro and white workers in the South.
5. Stop the witch-hunts against Communists, liberals and progressives. Dismiss the trial against the 12 Communist leaders in New York.
6. Stop the Federal Grand Jury investigation against Communist, liberals and progressives in New Orleans - - prosecute the KKK and police brutality in the South instead.

White President Truman, White House, Washington,D.C. - - Tell him we want jobs and peace not witch-hunts and war.

Issued by the Communist Party of Louisiana, Box 2727, New Orleans, La.

Given Goff given out 4/21/49 Rec'd Front

(Exhibit WB-9)

WITNESS: HUBERT BADEAUX

ization which calls itself the Committee for Louisiana, Affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. You will note that this letter is signed by one Richard Feise, and that on the Board of Directors is a Mrs. Richard Feise, none other than Winifred Feise, known Communist. Mrs. Paul A. Blanchard is the Chairman of this committee. Mrs. Harry P. Schwartz is Executive Secretary. On the Executive Committee are the following names: Mrs. Dalton Barranger, Isobel Chisholm, Mrs. Richard Feise—as I say, Winifred Feise—Clarence A. Laws (who is the Field Secretary for the N.A.A.C.P. in the New Orleans area), Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, James A. Lewis, Jr., A. James McDonald, Louise Meyer, Ferdinand E. Rousseve, Paul Schuler, Reverend Gardner C. Taylor and E. H. Williams.

This is another example of the interweaving of the Communist influence. There is no date on it. It was put out possibly in 1947. You will see they were calling for controlling rent prices.

Q. That is a letterhead of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare?

A. No sir. That is an organization which was affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the "Committee for Louisiana." In other words, the Communists must make their objective palatable to a number of people — some liberals may not even have been interested in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare but would be interested in that particular item, namely rent control. Therefore, they would start a little branch. But you will see all the same people head all of these branches, and they just gather other people in. (See Page 278 for Exhibit WB-10.)

Q. Sergeant, we are planning on introducing all of these exhibits when we get through, but of course anything that is necessary for your files will be properly returned

A. It will all be necessary. We didn't get some of this too easily. We hate to part with it. Subsequently, Andrew Nelson filed with his National Labor Relations Board affidavit a certificate of loyalty in which he stated that he was not then, and was never, a member of the Communist Party. The United States government prosecuted him for perjury in this respect, and he was convicted in the Federal Court in New Orleans. However, before being made to serve his sentence Andrew Nelson expired, passed from this vale of tears, and, of course, we closed his file out in our office to some extent. But this is all so typical of how the Communist network of defense operates.

Here is an exhibit showing Andrew Nelson Defense stamps, $5.00 each. A $500.00 book of stamps. Now they must have had great hopes because I see several packages of them. There must have been half a million dollars worth of stamps at that rate. I don't know if he needed that much money to defend himself in the federal court. I didn't realize litigations were that expensive!

Here is an **Andrew Nelson Defense Fund** sheet. It says.

> **"The President of our Local Union has been charged with falsifying the noncommunist affidavit that is required to be signed when seeking certification by the National Labor Relations Board in accordance with Section 9 of the Labor Management Act of 1947.**
>
> **"Bro. Nelson is not guilty with falsifying the affidavit and must be defended against this judicial accusation."**

COMMITTEE FOR LOUISIANA

808 PERDIDO ST · NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA · PHONE, CAnal 7111

Affiliated with the
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
FOR HUMAN WELFARE

Mrs. Paul A. Blanchard,
Chairman
Mrs. Harry P. Schwartz,
Executive Secretary

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Mrs. Dalton Barlanger
Isabel Chisholm
Mrs. Richard Feise
Clarence A. Lowe
Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger
James A. Lewis, Jr.
A. James McDonald
Louise Meyer
Ferdinand L. Rousseve
Paul Schuler
Reverend Gardner C. Taylor
E. H. Williams

Dear Friend

The Housing and Rent Committee of the Committee for Louisiana has made a careful study of the recent Housing and Rent Act of 1947, passed by the Republican Congress.

Whether he knows it or not, every renter in New Orleans is or will shortly be affected by the various clauses of the bill. Many of the provisions which formerly protected tenants—and at the same time helped to prevent further dangerous inflation and a rise in the cost of living—are very much weaker in the new bill. We believe the renter's only safety is in group action for local, state, or national legislation for thoroughgoing rent control.

In order to bring to every renter full information as to the effects of the bill in any situation in which he may find himself, the Housing and Rent Committee is preparing a series of leaflets and informative bulletins.

We are sending you under separate cover a number of copies of the first leaflet. We would like to know if you can use this leaflet, which we supply you free of charge, to distribute to your members. We hope that when you have used all of these you will call us at the office of the Housing and Rent Committee, 808 Perdido Street, CAnal 7111, to order as many more as you can use.

This leaflet will be followed by more detailed topical leaflets and bulletins, which have already been drawn up. We hope for your full support and a cordial cooperation.

Sincerely,

Richard Feise

Richard Feise, Temporary Chairman
Housing and Rent Committee

Encl.

(Exhibit WB-10)

I don't know how many of them understood that, but anyway, there is a place for the names, a place for the pledge, and how much they have paid. Apparently it could be paid on the installment plan, and too, they would be sold these stamps ranging from $10 demoninations on down to 25-cent denominations. I would like to introduce that at this time. (See Page 280 for Exhibit WB-12.)

The International, of course, came to the assistance of Nelson, since Nelson had often come to the assistance of the International, particularly in the Smith-Robertson-Bridges Defense Committee, which was declared a Communist front by the Attorney General.

I would like to introduce at this time a letter which Nelson received from the International in Hawaii. This is a photostat of the letter, August 7, 1956, on stationery of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, Local 142, located in Honolulu, Hawaii:

"Mr. Andrew Nelson, President, ILWU, Local 207, Box 1023, New Orleans 8, Louisiana. Dear Brother Nelson:

"Enclosed is a check in the amount of one hundred dollars ($100) which represents our contribution to your defense committee to clear yourself of the charges placed against you by the use of the notorious Taft-Hartley Law.

"Will you please forward to us more materials dealing with your case in order that our Local can forward letters of support and also ask for further financial support from our units in the future.

"Your cooperation on the above request for materials in your case and a reply as soon as possible will be greatly appreciated."

His name is printed and it is also signed. **"Fraternally Yours, ILWU Local 142, Newton Miyagi, Secretary-Treasurer."**

cc: **"Louis Goldblatt, Bookkeeping Dept."** Slogan, **"An injury to one is an injury to all."** Hawaii

(See Page 281 for Exhibit WB-13.)

And here is a photostat of the voucher, the actual check sent to Andrew Nelson from his International in Honolulu, Hawaii, Bridges' "Supreme Court." (See Page 282 for Exhibit WB-14.)

A. Now, gentlemen, I have here a very valuable document. At the time we seized this from the Communists it was a complete party program for the south for the years '55 and '56.

Q. Before you go into that, Sergeant, you are now finished with the ILWU?

A. Yes. I think you can see the pattern of how once they get inside, once they penetrate, in a matter of a few short years the whole organization is doing their bidding.

Q. It is Communist-dominated--

A. It is. I will state here, categorically or any way you want it, that ILWU, Local 207, is still under the domination of the Communist Party in the State of Louisiana.

Q. That union is a union of longshoremen and warehousemen?

A. That's correct. They have contracts at places. I think they lost the Flintkote contract. Cotton Compress mainly.

Q. Is that union capable of tying up the Port of New Orleans?

A. No, hardly, because there is some dissension within that union itself (which I don't mind promoting).

Q. What I mean is, does it represent most of the longshoremen in the New Orleans area?

WB-12

ANDREW NELSON'S DEFENSE FUND SHEET

The President of our Local Union has been charged with falsifying the noncommunist affidavit that is required to be signed when seeking certification by the National Labor Relations Board in accordance with Section 9 of the Labor Management Act of 1947.

Bro. Nelson is not guilty with falsifying the affidavit and must be defended against this judicial accusation.

NAME	PLEDGE	PAID	PAID	PAID	PAID	

WB-13

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

LOCAL 142

August 7, 1956

Mr. Andrew Nelsen, President
ILWU Local 207
Box 1826
New Orleans 8, Louisiana

Dear Brother Nelsen:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of one hundred dollars ($100) which represents our contribution to your defense committee to clear yourself of the charges placed against you by the use of the notorious Taft-Hartley law.

Will you please forward to us more materials dealing with your case in order that our Local can forward letters of support and also ask for further financial support from our units in the future.

Your cooperation on the above request for materials in your case and a reply as soon as possible will be greatly appreciated.

Fraternally yours,

ILWU LOCAL 142

Newton Miyagi
Secretary-Treasurer

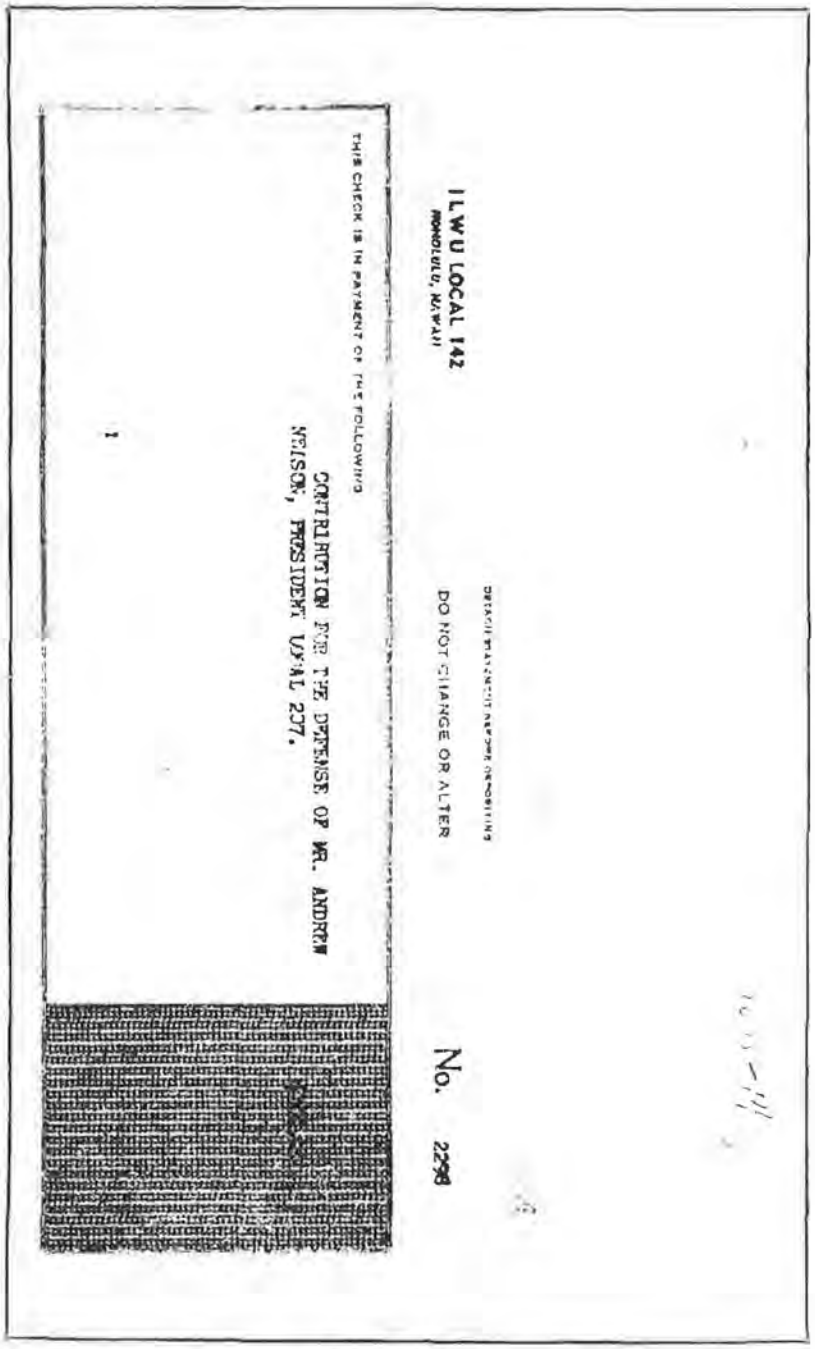
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Encl.

cc: Louis Goldblatt
Bookkeeping Dept.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

(Exhibit WB-13)



ILWU LOCAL 142
HONOLULU, HAWAII

DO NOT CHANGE OR ALTER

No. 2238

THIS CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING

CONTRIBUTION FOR THE DEFENSE OF MR. ANDREW
NELSON, PRESIDENT, U.S.W.A. 237.

(Exhibit WB-14)

A. Oh, no.

Q. What percentage of the longshoremen would you think it represents?

A. The actual longshoremen's union, 1418 and 1419, the white and the colored Local of the International Longshoremen's Association are definitely non-Communist, and as far as my intelligence summaries go, from what I can perceive, they will stay non-Communist in that respect. There is not too much chance of them accepting the party line. You understand, in this matter of integration and segregation, the party constantly fights what it calls "white chauvinism" and there have been members of the party in the New Orleans area who have been expelled for "white chauvinism."

Q. Would you define "white chauvinism" as used by the party for the records?

A. Yes, "white chauvinism" is nothing more than the attitude of a number of people who wish to be segregated. You also have Negro chauvinism as far as that goes, and the Communists also have social chauvinism and trade union chauvinism. That is the idea that, for instance, a steamfitter who would be a skilled tradesman would think he is somewhat better than a common laborer. To the Communist he is supposed to be just even. No matter what his particular skills and abilities are, each one is equal. Now, in the event that you have segregated locals, then it is not too good. How in the heck can you preach the party line when the people won't practice the party line and insist on staying segregated? So you have Clarence Henry, head of the Negro local and you have Al Chittenden, head of the white local. These people show no indication that they want to merge. You can't blame Henry for wanting to be head of a local, nor can you blame Mr. Crittenden. If they merge, each one's position may be challenged. So, purely for an economic motive if nothing else, they stay separated.

Now, under those conditions the Communist Party can't operate too effectively. They have to get inside one local or another and try to break it down. Then when you get up into big locals like that it is pretty hard. That is one reason that they insist on complete integration in every walk of life — so they won't have to combat "white chauvinism" so intently inside the party. They have lost members of the party and had to expel them for "white chauvinism." They were willing to overthrow the government and everything else, but they would not let a Negro into their house for a party meeting, we will say. In other words, they are not true Marxists. They have to get rid of that "petit bourgeoisie" attitude, and some people refuse to do it.

Q. In the New Orleans area, are most of the longshoremen members of these two International Longshoremen's Unions you have spoken of?

A. Yes. I, myself, went out and worked on the waterfront for six whole months, particularly in the longshore sections, and I didn't care to be identified in the records, as I was a police officer and intelligence agent also. So I went to work as what they call a "rabbit." In other words, when you shape up in the morning there on the docks, they will hire all the union men first, because the union contract stipulates that. If there are positions left over, the shipowners still need more men, and the union can't furnish the men, then they hire anyone. So they hire

the "rabbits." Now, apparently the longshoremen's union was satisfied that all of its members received work. Of course if I were working and a union member showed up at, say 10:00 in the morning — I might have been working three hours already — if he wanted my job, of course he would knock me off, and I would have to leave and the union man would take my place. But there was very little friction or disagreement in the handling of cargo freight and everything else in the New Orleans waterfront until just recently. The National Maritime Union and the ILA all put their heads together just to show their strength, perhaps. I don't know why they wanted to tie up the port. There was no particular disagreement with the shipowners or the longshoremen, but they wanted to assert their solid idea of what the union does and all that. So they just tied up the whole waterfront for no good reason that I could see, anyway. Of course, we had advance knowledge of that.

Q. Sergeant, I have been requested to ask you to identify clearly the name of the union that is now dominated by Communists.

A. Yes sir, that is the ILWU, Local 207.

Q. Now, the names of those unions in New Orleans that are not dominated by Communists — that is, unions on the waterfront?

A. Waterfront section?

Q. Yes sir.

A. That's the ILA, International Longshoremen's Association, Locals 1418 and 1419. They are quite anti-Communist.

Q. Sergeant, would you have any estimates of the percentage of waterfront workers in the Communist Union and the percentage in the non-Communist unions?

A. Well, the ILWU is such an ineffective union by virtue of its radical actions that — well, I happen to know that the International was considering dropping it at one time. It couldn't pay its own way. They actually don't have too much effect on the primary industry in the city at this time. Now, because of the tie-up with the Communist network, those people (the industrialists) realize that each and every Communist Party member is actually a trained and paid agent of the Kremlin operating on the soil of the United States. The Communists are disciplined. They never miss a meeting. No matter if there is a good movie showing or they have a toothache or whatever they might have, the Communists will show up. He knows who his reserves are, those liberals and others, whom he might influence to vote his way and see things his way. If nothing else he serves as a listening post for the central intelligence agency of the Soviet government in Moscow, and he can report directly any grievances that the workers might have. Whether he can do anything about it or not, he is a listening post inside our American economy and he can report back through the channels and these people will plot the next move how best to disturb our economy and make us exhaust our resources without them ever firing a shot.

Q. In other words, Sergeant, numbers are not too large, although you do not know what the numbers are, but the influence is great?

A. Yes, well I know what the numbers are.

PROPOSALS ON SOUTHERN PARTY ORGANIZATION -- '55 -- '56 WB-15

Registration

1. Work for a turn-about in our membership to bring our membership up to the '53 registration by the spring of '57.

2. Close the '56 registration now with the understanding that La. and Ala. and any other cities or parts of districts that did not carry out a registration keep as members their last year's membership and continue to work for full registration.

3. Conduct the first stage of increasing the registration as part of the plan of work for the '56 elections.

4. Immediately set about organizing all members into clubs.

5. Dues must be paid monthly. They are a direct reflection of Party organization and activity. We must bring our dues payments up to 100% in '55.

Party Building

1. List contacts for recruiting in each club. Examine personal and political history of each contact.

2. Club work out individual approach to each contact including literature, planned discussions and study, explanation of role and functioning of Party, etc.

3. Set a quota in each club for new members in '55.

4. Each district to set quota for new members by the '56 registration.

Cadres

1. National and District leadership to review and correct the existing cadre list in the next 3 months, with the D. O.'s first on the list.

2. Do a thorough verification of this list so that we begin to know the lives and experiences of these cadres and their problems. This verification must be known to the national leadership in detail.

3. Organize individual discussions with these comrades, with the national leadership participating whenever possible--certainly in the discussions with the D. O.'s and selected trade union, Negro, farm, and youth cadres.

4. These discussions should include:
   a. The present role of the comrades in the Party and the mass movement and future perspectives, emphasizing special training for specific tasks.
   The personal life and problems of the comrades, helping them to see their problems in the framework of the political tasks facing the Party, and helping in this framework to find correct answers.

(Exhibit WB-15a)

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c. Develop a plan of self-study, getting agreement of how much each comrade will read weekly, and when written reports on the reading will be turned in to the District and National centers. Reading list is attached.
d. Examine the possibility of Party school for each comrade, giving this cadre preference to District, National, and N.Y. schools.
e. Set up regular follow-up discussions by the D. O. or assigned District leaders to check on the above 3 or 4 times a year.

(5. National and District leadership to take responsibility for this plan. National leaders to take direct responsibility for the development of the D. O.'s and selected trade union, Negro, farm, and youth cadres.)

Press

1. District and city committees to discuss role of Party press and assign necessary cadre for receiving and distributing press.

2. Every club discuss role of press, list the number of papers that can be distributed to members and contacts, number of subscriptions that can be sold for mailing at home, and set quota accordingly for both subs and bundle.

3. Plan in detail how club can secure its share of city bundle and distribute to each individual.

4. Club quotas to total the '54 circulation in each district in the course of '56 election campaign activity.

Mass Education

1. Plan further distribution of 25,000 copies of National Program in 1956.

2. Distribute 2,000 - 3,000 copies of Southern Supplement, 3 times a year. First issue end of May, second in the Fall.

3. Plan to place Party's political analysis and program for '56 elections before the people of the South.

4. Distribute 50,000 copies of brochure of desegregation in Fall.

5. Plan distribution of Southern Program after bringing it up to date.

6. Plan issuance and distribution of state and club material in accordance with needs and possibilities, coordinating with above-mentioned south-wide material. (Bulletins, shop papers, leaflets.)

7. Use southern return address on mailings, as soon as available.

8. Examine and analyze content of material we issue.

(Exhibit WB-15b)

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Education

1. Organize regular club political discussions based on P.A. articles, outlines provided by the national center (series of 10 are being prepared), and locally developed outlines.

2. Work towards one district school a year, with assistance from national center for teachers and curriculum.

3. Select cadres to be given preference in national schools and other schools.

4. Organize club and city classes where feasible.

5. Plan self-study for members as extensively as possible.

6. Send teachers from national center to aid in classes where needed.

Literature

1. Organize the regular receipt of literature by using all of the following methods:
   a. Secure mailing addresses for P.A. and current periodicals.
   b. Plan trips for bulky material (Foster books, Stalin sets, large quantities of a pamphlet for mass use, programs, brochures.) (once or twice a year.)
   b. Plan to use every trip into center or from center for carrying literature into South.

2. Select literature for special sale and concentration. In the next period sell: a) Foster "History of the Three Internationals" [illegible]erson "The People vs. Segregated Schools"

Finances

1. Plan budget for state including aid for D.O., mailings and leaflets, travel, meetings, schools, etc.

2. Organize fund raising with view to local self-sufficiency, as well as regular contributions to center.

3. Plan Fund Drive carefully with solid organizational follow-up. Complete quotas to center by June 30th.

4. Organize year round sustainer through clubs for meeting state budgets.

Club Plans

1. Every club to list its plan of work: its area of concentration and over-all perspectives, its goals on the preceding Party tasks, and its specific '56 election activity.

2. Club meetings conducted according to the BASIC 3-Part Agenda.

3. Each district examine the club plans, and in relation to them submit to the center a district plan for the '56 election activity.

(Exhibit WB-15c)

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OUTLINE PLAN FOR INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION CLUB

Points to be considered for an industrial concentration club plan which can serve as a guide to other clubs, and to the plan of work of individual club members:

1. Learn the industry and union in general, and the local plant in particular, by reading the trade union press, and the local and negro press. Learn the particular grievances of the workers and how they express political ideas. Learn the labor movement in the city and its relationship to the workers in the concentration plant.

2. List all contacts the Party has in the plant. Discuss them separately and assess each individually. Distinguish between contacts that are active in political or community work and those that are inactive, between those of an organizational (steward, etc.) and those that are rank and file, between young workers and old timers.

3. Depending on the number of Party members in the club and their community ties, assign each comrade to follow up on a selected number of the contact list. Check on the comrades so that personal relationships are started, and check to see that these relationships grow personally and politically. Learn from these contacts the exact moods and thinking of the workers in the concentration plant.

4. Join organizations that these workers are in, wherever possible--churches, Democratic Party, NAACP, etc.

5. Put out Party literature especially planned for these workers, using the information acquired through personal contact, as well as the general material like the Southern Program, National Program, leaflet on desegregation, etc.

6. Check up on these points regularly and never forget the task of recruiting new members from among these workers.

# # #

(Exhibit WB-15d)

ber and all contacts. They mail them free to the Negro and white community leaders and the trade union leaders. The "Farm pamphlet" —sell to farm and trade union members and friends and mail to the farm lists and to selected trade union people. "Selected trade union people" are those who have been contacted and can be relied upon to share "liberal" views and won't go hollering to the intelligence agent that these people approached them. The "Farm folder on Southern Farm issues" can be mailed together with pamphlets described above, namely the "Farm pamphlet," "and to additional lists of sharecroppers, tenant farmers and farm workers." "Case of Claude Lightfoot" — "sell to every member and all contacts. Mail some to Negro and white leaders." "Junius Scales Case" — use that together with the "Lightfoot" for mass distribution to everyone. And for a fact, the party did send this out and several people in the City of New Orleans received that brochure in the mail and brought it to our intelligence office. "Desegregation leaflet" — again mass distribution to everyone. The "Trade Union merger" — mass distribution. "Textile pamphlet" — again mass distribution and mailing to textile workers and trade unionists.

Now, in this exhibit listed there are "Concrete Goals for the Year of

READINGS FOR CADRE SELF-STUDY PLAN

Select reading from list below.
Set minimum daily and weekly reading.
Set deadline for completing reading.
Have 1 to 5 page report turned in on reading.
Each cadre to read 2 to 5 selections from list in one year (depending on length, etc.)

1. History of C.P.S.U.
2. Stalin - Economic Problems
3. Mao - On Contradiction
4. Dimitrov - Report to 7th World Congress
5. Stalin - Socialism vs. Anarchism
6. Foster - History of Negro People
7. Malenkov - Report to 19th Party Congress
8. Chou-En-Lai - How to be a Good Communist
9. Foster - History of Three Internationals
10.
11.
12.

(Exhibit WB-15e)

1953". Now, this is what this particular organizer, Hunter Pitts O'Dell extracted from the party directory. He first told himself that he must

"1. Master strategy and tactics for bringing people to eve of socialism."

(which is euphemism for revolution).

"2. Develop cadres capable of leading people to victory"

(Cadres are those hard cores that are now being placed into the unions. Develop these people now!).

"3. Mass education and agitation."

First of all was

"PEACE"

(at the time of the war, the Korean Conflict!)

"WHITE CHAUVINISM" (and) ***"DEMOCRATIC RULE"***

(All of these things are to be the subjects of mass agitation and propaganda.)

"4. Develop fighting spirit in Party — deep understanding to correct road, how sick is capitalism—

"5. Cultivate mass ties—"

(specifically the)

"N.A.A.C.P., trade unions"

(The N.A.A.C.P. is a mass organization in the Communists' setup.)

"6. MOBILIZE ALL PARTY FOR concentration policy"

(The "concentration policy" means to infiltrate the major industries, anything that might disrupt our national economy or could effectively prevent us from waging war if we had to, such as communications).

"7. Help advance right to vote movement"

WB-16

Additional Nebesson Party Organization: Immdiate Tasks - '55 290

Registration: Starts on Sept. 15th and ends on Dec. 1st. Begin to get all members paid up for '55 dues NOW. Start discussions now with all who were not registered for '55. Plan to start and finish registration this year on time, and to enroll an increased membership.

Party Building: Each district submit number of new members expected in '55.

Press: The following goals are proposed for your district:
THE WORKER: DAILY WORKER:
One important method for achieving this is for each city to start a subscription bundle (paid in advance for one year). These goals are to be reached by Dec. '55.

From Jan. 1st '55 through June 6th the following renewals and subs were received from your district:
THE WORKER: DAILY WORKER:

Mass Education and Literature Sales:

		Proposed Quotas
Foster - 'History of the Three Internationals'	$3.50 each for first orders. ($6.00 regular price)	Sell to members and friends
D. Wilkerson - 'The People vs. Segregated Schools'	.05 pamphlet. (.03 in quantity)	Sell to every member and all contacts. Mail some to Negro and white community leaders and TU leaders.
Farm pamphlet	/10 each. (free for mailing) deals with national farm program and farmer - labor unity.	Sell to farm and TU members and friends and mail to farm xxxx TU lists and to selected TU people.
Farm folder - on Southern Farm issues	cost not yet set.	Can be mailed together with pamphlet described above and to additional lists of share-croppers, tenant farmers and farm workers.
'Case of Claude Lightfoot'	.10 each. (.06 in quantity) basic piece on the trial and the question of party membership	Sell to every member and all contacts. Mail some to Negro and white leaders.
Junius Scales case	Brochure	Can be used together with pamphlet on Lightfoot and far beyond that. Mass distribution.

(Exhibit WB-16a)